

Mr. M A. Jinnah delivering his presidential address extempore at the Madras Session of the All India Muslim League, April, 1941

SOME RECENT SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF Mr. JINNAH

Collected and edited by

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To
All loyal followers
and
sincere admirers of
Qaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah

PREFACE

THE case of the Muslim people in India often goes by default for want of proper presentation and publicity. The need has been felt all the more keenly during recent years ; because, with the growth of Muslims as a definite force to be reckoned with, the Muslim point of view has been both misunderstood and misinterpreted. The Muslims do not enjoy the same facilities for the expression of their view-point and the propagation of their ideals as the other parties in India do. It is, therefore, a welcome sign of the times that some thinking men and some circles among Muslims have awakened to the necessity of producing political literature which would help the world understand the Muslim mind.

I have attempted in my humble way to bring out a collection of the recent speeches and writings of the one man who is to-day best fitted to interpret the mind and the aspirations of the Muslim nation in India and clarify their attitude and policy in the political field. I have laboured hard over the collection and arrangement of the speeches and other statements of our Qaid-i-Azam Mr. M. A. Jinnah, and I am glad that to-day I am in a position to present the readers with the fruit of my labour. I hope this collection will supply a crying need, as it will assist people of all shades of thought to appreciate the Muslim view-point.

I take this opportunity to express my deepest gratitude first of all to Qaid-i-Azam Mr. M. A. Jinnah himself for all the

encouragement and help that he extended to me and which it has always been my good fortune to receive from him. Next I sincerely thank Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, Honorary Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, for the kindly assistance which I received from him and his office. The Nawabzada is a precious asset to the Muslim nation and a source of strength to every humble worker. I cannot thank him adequately for the unfailing courtesy and the kind regard he has always shown me. I am also under a deep sense of obligation to Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh Muslim University, and Secretary of the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature, who helped me procure reports of some important speeches of Mr. Jinnah.

I have great pleasure in acknowledging with gratitude the ungrudging help given me by some young friends in various ways in the compilation of the book. I must make particular mention of my young friend, Mr. Amin-ur-Rashid Khan, who assisted me in the preparation of the manuscript at considerable inconvenience to himself. I am also deeply grateful to my friend and co-worker, Mr. Ahmad Wahab Kheiri, Director of Publicity, Muslim University, Aligarh, for his ready support which smoothed many difficulties. A word of thanks is also due to my friend, Mr. M. H. Saiyed, Private Secretary to Mr. Jinnah, for kindly supplying me with copies of some important speeches and statements.

Lastly, I must not forget to express my deep sense of appreciation of the zeal, promptitude and efficiency which the publisher has shown in bringing out this volume and to thank him for his cordial co-operation with me.

Aligarh JAMIL-UD-DIN AHMAD
25th December 1941

INTRODUCTION

THE proficiency of certain Indians in English, both written and spoken, is an object of marvel to many Englishmen themselves. India has produced many eloquent and effective speakers in English ; among them Mr. Jinnah's is a name to conjure with. Mr Jinnah has now been in public life for about forty years. I remember having heard of him in the earliest days of my boyhood as a speaker of rare charm and skill. Independence of character and eloquence of speech are the two qualities which have always been associated with him. It almost seems as if his speaking talents were an essential ingredient of his forceful and fascinating personality. In this short introduction I am not attempting a detailed appraisal of his contribution to public life or the record of his political work and leadership. It is no light task, considering the greatness of his talents and the immensity of his achievements. I am only touching on a few salient features of his speeches and other pronouncements and how they are linked up with his mental calibre, his character, and his personality.

Happily for his people Mr. Jinnah chose a profession which gave ample scope for his innate qualities to blossom forth and fructify. With amazing speed and brilliance he worked his way up in the profession of law, till he attained the enviable position of leader of the bar at one of the foremost Courts of law in India, and his fame spread all over India and even abroad. His abilities as a convincing speaker and a skilful

debater contributed in no small measure to his success at the bar. He worked like a prince in his profession. But his mental energies and moral gifts must have called for a wider atmosphere ; so he was naturally led into public life and politics.

Early in life Mr. Jinnah built up a firm and uncorruptible character and a strong yet charming personality. Tall, handsome, spruce and urbane, his personality is almost the last word in dignity and grace. Even in his old age the fine features of his face and his well-set-up figure have lost nothing of their fascination. He commands esteem and compels respect. The precision of his intellect and the fairness of his outlook are reflected even in his immaculate dress and elegant manner. His gentle yet firm countenance is truly the index of the nobleness of his mind and soul. Though he has been in the thick of the battle, yet he conveys the impression of self-detachment which belongs only to high-souled men. The probity of his mind, the brilliance of his wit and the integrity of his character make him an outstanding figure in whatever society or gathering he happens to be. He becomes the cynosure of all eyes. In the earlier part of his career the gifts of his personality loomed large in his performances as a speaker. His work as a lawyer also had much to do with the cultivation of his speaking talents. He soon grew up into a finished and polished speaker. His voice though lacking in volume is rich in timbre. It is characterised by a deep musical resonance. He would speak in low charming tones, but he would raise it to produce the maximum effect at the proper time. The audience listen to him with bated breath ; their souls would go up and come down along with the rise and fall of his moving yet perfectly controlled voice. Unlike many tub-thumping orators he uses the minimum of gestures to set off the effect of his voice. A motion of a finger, a little waving of the head, or a slight turning of his impressive figure would enthrall his audience. The incisive

reasoning, the close analysis, the careful marshalling of facts and arguments, the laying of emphasis on points of vantage —all characteristic qualities of a lawyer—are also the marked features of his speech. He would open out his case slowly and with calm confidence. The audience would at once be gripped by the beauty of his intonation, the eminent sensibility of his arguments and the cogency of his reasoning. If he were leading the opposition he would demolish the case of his opponent with wonderful facility by tearing off the latter's argument to shreds without giving offence. He would catch at the weak spot of his adversary and hammer at it relentlessly till he won his point. If he were presenting his own case, he would bring out his strong points with such shrewdness and vigour that he would carry the day. Whatever be the prepossession and predilections of the audience, they would soon be converted to his view. Each one would say to himself, "This is the most sensible view to take. Why couldn't I think of it before!" With all the glow of his personality and the charm of his eloquence Mr. Jinnah, however, would never attempt to hoodwink the audience by sophistry or win them over by the flourish of cheap oratory—verbal jugglery and mental acrobatics. He would never leave integrity of mind and honesty of purpose behind. He would go straight to the root of the matter and speak with refreshing candour.

Mr. Jinnah distinguished himself still more as a brilliant and astute parliamentarian. In many a parliamentary battle he has been the hero of the day. This collection does not include many of his famous parliamentary speeches of the former time. I am not, therefore, referring at length to this phase of his career. But the first speech in this volume would give some indication of his parliamentary strategy and debating talents. During the first decade of the Legislative Assembly, established under the Government of India Act 1911, he crossed sword with many powerful debaters and

invariably came out with flying colours. His parliamentary speeches show masterly grasp of the subject under discussion and incisive reasoning whose appeal is irresistible. In the legislature he shone as the epitome of the parliamentary decorum, the grand manner, the elegant style. He combined all the qualities of outward deportment and bearing with those of intellect and character. For parliamentary leadership he seemed to be cut out from the beginning, and a parliamentary leader he has always been. Quick perception of legal quibbles and legislative intricacies is ingrained in his blood. Deep understanding of broader political issues and the moves on the political chess-board is equally within his ken. These qualities are fully reflected in his speeches of this period as also of the more recent times.

But so far Mr. Jinnah was essentially a speaker for the intellectual and the cultured audience. There was a certain kind of aloofness about him. But it was only due to scorn of cheap popularity. He never allowed himself to become that type of leader who swim with the current of popular fancies and passions on the chance of finding themselves on the crest of it. Some people perhaps also mistook his detachment for coldness. This again was due to his detestation of the methods employed by many politicians to carve out a career for themselves by trading on the ignorance of the people and exciting popular passions. He, on the other hand, believed in doing solid service without seeking popular applause.

Actuated by the highest motives of service for his people and his country, Mr. Jinnah has always striven to bring about a real and lasting understanding between Hindus and Muslims—the two most important elements in the Indian body-politic, as he has held and rightly held that no real progress was possible without such understanding. His most effective contribution in this behalf was the Lucknow Pact of 1916 on which the Reforms of 1919 were more or less

based. The spirit of the pact was that two distinct political entities were entering into a settlement for mutual co-operation. But the majority party had a different idea at the back of their mind, namely, the Muslims were a mere minority who should live at the sufferance of the minority. Mr. Jinnah continued to work untiringly for Hindu-Muslim rapprochement. But the attitude of the Hindu delegates, including Mr. Gandhi, completely dismayed him. He felt so helpless and despondent that he left India and settled down in England for some time. With the passing of the Government of India Act and the impending inauguration of provincial autonomy Mr. Jinnah realised that his people were on the threshold of a critical period, and his place was by their side. It was like a call of blood, and he responded to it unhesitatingly. From here begins the new phase of his leadership. Jinnah, the leader of the intelligentsia, becomes the leader of the people. His most ardent admirers were astonished by the ability, confidence and strength with which he took charge of the leadership of a people who had been rather notorious for pushing up and pulling down leaders at short intervals. It looked as though he had a rich reserve of qualities and energies which he was now bringing into display.

A most dangerous situation was created for the Muslims by the coming into office of Congress Ministries which were exclusively Hindu in spirit and action. A man of courage, vision, and sagacity was needed to steer them through the thorny path. They were between two fires—the old bureaucracy and the new oligarchy of the Congress. A campaign of persecution, demoralisation and cultural and economic suppression was launched against Muslims. To add to their misfortunes, those who had so far been posing as their leaders had stifled in them the spirit of self-help and self-assertion. The Muslims had been reduced to a state of political sycophancy. In this state of despondency and

frustration they looked round for a man who would pull them out of their ruts and launch them on a new path of hope and action, and they found him in Mr. Jinnah. The conditions arising since the introduction of provincial autonomy brought all the inherent qualities of Mr. Jinnah's character and intellect into full play. His political acumen, his vision and will, his capacity for drive and organisation were put to the severest test, and his phenomenal success has dazzled the eyes of friend and foe alike. He has lent even greater lustre to his new rôle.

As a leader of the people he has shown wonderful understanding of the mass mind and impulse as well as shrewd insight into political moves and diplomatic manoeuvres. Somehow he always knows, as if by intuition, the psychological moments in the political life of the country. His patience is almost inexhaustible, and he can wait for the right moment. But when the time comes he strikes hard with unerring agility and precision. An outstanding feature of Mr. Jinnah's leardership is that he achieves the maximum result with the minimum effort. Like economy of words in speech he also practises economy of effort in practical politics. It is not that he avoids action ; rather he believes in conserving one's energy and strength for bigger causes and issues. He does not want his followers to fritter away their energies in fruitless wrangles over narrow, parochial, and momentary issues. Step by step, slowly but steadily he takes his followers forward to their cherished goal. He does not make them run when they are only able to stand. Many a leader in a fit of fury or passion, generated by an exciting incident, takes precipitate action and hurls his followers into a turmoil which only leads to disaster or an ignominious retreat. He believes in full and thorough preparation before an action is taken. As he has himself said, " Think hundred times before you take any decision, but once a decision is taken, stand by it as one man." He

believes in sustained, conscious, solid work, and selfless, unostentatious service and suffering. Once he is convinced that the bulk of his people, not necessarily all, are consciously behind a policy and are fully prepared and equipped there is no danger and no power which he is not ready to face along with his followers. Herein lies the true greatness of Mr. Jinnah as a mass-leader. We have seen within recent years that many leaders became intoxicated and puffed up when they were lauded and feted at popular demonstrations to the accompaniment of shouts of 'jai' and 'zindabad.' Their vanity and wrong conception of their hold and strength led them astray. As for the end that they and their followers met with, the less said the better.

So far as the splendour of demonstrations, the display of popular enthusiasm, the expressions of the people's support and attachment are concerned, it will be readily accepted on all hands that Mr. Jinnah has beaten the record of all political leaders in India. A man of lesser calibre and smaller mind might have been easily swept off his feet by all this show of admiration and backing. But Mr. Jinnah stands on a far higher level. To the despair of his opponents and to the delight of his admirers his following and popularity among his people go on increasing every day. For, as Steele, the famous essayist, remarks about one of his characters, "the probity of his mind and the integrity of his life create him followers, as being eloquent and loud advances others." In the case of Jinnah it may be said that, besides probity of mind and integrity of life, his single-minded devotion to his cause and unremitting application to the work for the advancement of his people bring him more and more followers. He is fully conscious both of the strength and the shortcomings of his peoples. He does not set up as a saint or divine preaching to the ordinary mortals from a pontific pedestal. He does not seek to foist his own views and dictates on his followers with

dogmatic authority. He rather feels the pulse of his people, the vibrations of their hearts, and the stirrings of their minds. He delves into the inmost depths of their hearts and then speaks out their mind boldly and fearlessly. Mr. Jinnah does not allow his followers to become blind worshippers or imitators. He makes them think for themselves. Along the rugged path of national struggle he walks with his people, cheering them up in the state of despondency, putting heart and courage in them in adversity, and holding up the torch to them to light up their way in moments of gloom. He is one of them, sharing their joys and sorrows in equal measure. When he is convinced that his people have come round to a particular view-point he does not hesitate to declare it openly to the world.

But he always prepares his people along their own lines for a particular political outlook or attitude. He never seeks to thrust it on them. This can be briefly illustrated. The working of the democratic parliamentary system of government on Western lines in Congress-governed provinces gave a rude shock to Muslims and opened their eyes to the futility of seeking the protection of their rights and interests as a minority under this system. Quickly perceiving the direction in which the Muslim mind was working, Mr. Jinnah came out with the courageous declaration that Western democracy was unsuited to India. It has been a bitter pill for the majority party to swallow, for it buries all their hopes of establishing their domination over all others in India. Again, keeping his hand on the pulse of his people, he boldly asserted that Muslims of India are a separate and distinct nation by themselves, and that any future constitution for India must recognise the truth that there are two major nations in this country. Having brought his people to this stage of psychological development at which they readily regained their national and cultural self-consciousness, the next stage of the perception and

clarification of their national goal was easily and speedily reached. Like a shrewd and sympathetic observer he again searched the mind of his people to discern as to what were their innermost desires and aspirations. He found that they were now prepared to stand up with the claim for sovereign political power to shape their own life, unhampered and unrestricted. He, therefore, brought out the proposal of the establishment of independent sovereign states in regions of Muslim majority—popularly known as Pakistan—which now represents the universal faith and the cherished ideal of hundred millions of Musalmans in this country.

In modern times there have been several examples of men of outstanding calibre rescuing their people from degradation and enslavement. Their task, however, was comparatively less difficult, as their peoples were already free peoples and had to struggle for retaining their freedom. But, in a subject country like India which has been under alien rule for about a hundred and fifty years, it is nothing short of a miracle to raise a *dead* people to life, in fact to create a *unified* nation out of a torpid mass of scattered, demoralised, and unorganised people who had lost all sense of self-respect and self-assertion. Many thinking Muslims themselves had given up the Muslims of India for lost. Mr. Jinnah has achieved what seemed to be the impossible. The Muslims of India to-day are a nation, organised, unified, conscious of their political and cultural heritage and future aspirations, and determined to pursue their chosen path to their destined goal, irrespective of all obstacles and all opposition. Muslim India to day speaks with one voice, and that is the voice of its Qaid-i-Azam, Muhammad Ali Jinnah. When Mr. Jinnah speaks everyone is alert and all camps are stirred; for everyone knows that he speaks with the conscious and solid backing of 100 millions of courageous people who are ready to sacrifice their all at his bidding. He has raised them to a status of prestige and dignity, so that they

are now entitled to be heard in any constitutional developments with respect and with a certain amount of fear also. He has inculcated in them the lesson of self-confidence and self-help. They have grown up politically. They can think and act for themselves, and are fit to meet any situation. A few years ago Muslim India counted for very little in the shaping of any Indian policy. To-day, thanks to Mr. Jinnah's indomitable courage, far-seeing vision, and persistent effort, Muslim India is recognised as a constituent factor in the framing of any future constitutional scheme, and it is established beyond doubt that no constitution which does not receive their willing assent can be enacted or enforced. In short, the political destiny of Muslims is in their own hands. No wonder then that the Muslims of India have rallied round Mr. Jinnah and his banner in ever-increasing numbers and have developed for him a reverence and an affection which defy any attempt at estimation.

The heavier the weight of responsibility thrown on him and the greater the confidence reposed in him by his people the more prominently his innate qualities come to the fore. Since the outbreak of the present war the rapidly changing situation in India has afforded several opportunities for the testing of his powers of initiative, decision and strategy. He has proved himself to be as a master-strategist on one or two special occasions recently. When the Congress ministries which had earned an unenviable reputation for ill-treating and repressing Muslim minorities ceased to function, Mr. Jinnah appealed for the observance of a "Day of Deliverance and Thanksgiving" to mark the sense of relief and gratitude which the Muslims and other non-Congress elements felt at the termination of the unjust Congress regime. This was a master-stroke of strategy, as is admitted on all hands. The day was observed with intense religious fervour and unparalleled enthusiasm in every nook and corner of India. It set an original example of political

demonstration. The stroke went home. It demonstrated beyond the shadow of a doubt the utter impracticability of the Western brand of democracy in India and dashed to the ground all hopes of establishing Congress raj or Hindu domination over the whole country. Another occasion when he showed the ability to make a strategic move and a supreme courage to stick to his decision in the face of imminent peril which was the Government's announcement regarding the expansion of the Viceroy's Council and the constitution of a so-called National Defence Council. A well-thought-out move was made to wean away some prominent members of the Muslim League over the head of the leader and the executive of the organisation and thereby create disruption in the organisation. Mr. Jinnah took courage in both hands and saved the prestige, honour and solidarity of Muslim India by compelling the erring members to retrace their steps and make amends for their indiscipline. The gravity of the step that he took and the immensity of his achievement can only be gauged when one considers the position and influence of the individual members in question, and the power of the party which made the attempt to disrupt the Muslim League organisation. At Lahore also, Mr. Jinnah showed rare daring in proceeding with the programme of the annual session of the Muslim League, in spite of the perilous situation created by the gruesome shooting tragedy which had occurred only a day or two earlier. The session was a personal triumph for Mr. Jinnah. History was made at Lahore for it was there that Mr. Jinnah gave to Muslims their charter of independence—Pakistan.

Recent years have revealed another feature of Mr. Jinnah's political acumen, his knack for checkmating the moves and manœuvres designed purposely to encircle and injure the Muslims. With his mental alertness and keen insight he has foiled many attempts made in recent months to entrap

the Muslims and blight their political future. The Congress demand for the clarification of Britain's war aims and their application to India and the declaration of India's independence, the proposal of a constituent assembly to frame the constitution of India, the so-called Poona offer for the establishment of a national Government at the Centre, and another amusing offer of a Muslim Leaguer being invited to form the cabinet at the Centre, and lastly the proposal of the newly-born Sapru Conference for the complete Indianisation of the Viceroy's Executive Council in utter disregard of the position and attitude of Muslim India—all these were really attempts to encircle the Muslim nation and bring about its vassalisation with the aid and assistance of the British power. But Mr. Jinnah's solitary mind has proved more than a match for the combined diplomacy of the Congress and other anti-Muslim bodies in this battle of wits and political manœuvring.

It is but natural that under the circumstances Mr. Jinnah is not a *persona grata* among the Congress and other Hindu circles. At one time he was. But those were the days when he worked for the attainment of a simple responsible government for the whole of India on the lines of Western democracy in the honest belief and hope that the majority would be just and fair to the minority and secure its willing co-operation. The majority at the back of their mind had the idea that the efforts Mr. Jinnah was making suited the attainment of their objective of complete domination over others. Mr. Jinnah made repeated attempts to bring a real and lasting understanding between Hindus and Muslims, but his efforts were always frustrated. He had patience, but he saw through the game. He realised that there was no other alternative but to organise and consolidate the forces of the Muslim nation, so that it could negotiate or struggle for the recognition of its rights and interests, as the case may be. Mr. Jinnah took up the

cudgels on behalf of the Muslims when every Muslim leader seemed to be resigned to fate. This was an unpardonable crime in the eyes of the Congress. Mr. Jinnah incurred their wrath the virulence of which increases in proportion to his success in discipline and harnessing the forces of Muslims and saving them from various machinations and onslaughts. A veritable vendetta has been launched against him in the press and on the platform of the Congress and some other anti-Muslim bodies. He is painted as the villain of the peace, as the stumbling-block in the way of India's freedom. He is dubbed as an agent of imperialism, an ally of the British, an enemy of democracy and freedom! There is no filthy abuse, no calumny, no vituperation, no scurrilous attack which is not hurled at him. But he stands firm as a rock against all odds. They strive in vain to coax, cajole, coerce, and threaten him. But neither flattery and laudation can deflect him from his course nor threat and calumny unnerve him. No price can purchase him, and no temptation lead him astray. Their abusive effusions cause no change in his tone and manner. He speaks and moves with his characteristic dignity and magnanimity.

In spite of all the bitterness that the Congress and their accomplices have created all round, Mr. Jinnah remains as anxious as he was—and I can say this from personal knowledge—for a genuine and just Hindu-Muslim settlement. It must be obvious by now to every impartial observer that it is the Congress and Mr. Gandhi who burke the issue of Hindu-Muslim agreement on all sorts of flimsy pretexts. In this connection it must be noted that Mr. Jinnah does not bear race or religious hatred towards any people, British or Hindu or any other. As he has often declared, he has no quarrel with the Hindus as such. He means to fight the High Command caucus of the Congress which, in his opinion and in the opinion of many other well-wishers of India, is doing incalculable harm to the cause

of Hindu-Muslim understanding and co-operation and of the attainment of India's freedom. It is really with a view to putting an end to the fratricidal feuds between Hindus and Muslims and ensuring a lasting peace and concord in the country that he has brought out the Pakistan project.

Sometimes it is alleged that Mr. Jinnah is proud, arrogant, and stiff-necked. But the critics miss the point as to what is the basis and nature of his supposed pride and arrogance. Mr. Jinnah is a proud man in the sense that he, being the spokesman and mouthpiece of Muslim India, does not allow its prestige and status to be lowered in any circumstances. He is proud against the proud and the haughty. Temporary success and cheaply-won but short-lived power had intoxicated and unbalanced the minds of the leaders and the rank and file of the Congress from Mr. Gandhi down to an ordinary member of that organisation. Not very long ago the stormy petrel of the Congress, Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru, was reported to have declared in a militant tone that there were only two parties in the country—Congress and the British Government—and others must simply line up, and further that one Congress volunteer was better than a thousand Jinnahs. A couple of years later the world saw the same Mr. Nehru as well as Mr. Gandhi and other Congress high-lights knocking at the door of Mr. Jinnah! That is the secret of Mr. Jinnah's pride. It brings sense into the minds of the opponents of Muslim solidarity and Muslim freedom. He is to-day the symbol of the revival of Muslim India, he is proud only where the honour and interests of Muslim India are in question. But, to the humble and unassuming servants of the Muslim nation or, for the matter of that, to any humble individual, Mr. Jinnah is the soul of courtesy and kindness.

I can say from personal experience that Mr. Jinnah is a beacon-light, a ready source of inspiration and encouragement to any individual seeking to render selfless service to

his people. The Poet Iqbal had some such person in view when he said :

جس سے جگرِ لالہ میں ٹھنڈک ہو وہ شبنم

دریاؤں کے دل جس سے دہل جائیں وہ طوفان

True greatness does not consist in making others feel small. He who makes you conscious of your inferiority in his presence is not truly great. You feel elevated in the presence of the truly great man. I can say from personal experience that one feels uplifted and inspired in Mr. Jinnah's presence. Many people have had an erroneous impression that Mr. Jinnah has no touch with the spirit of religion. True, he does not wear a halo of religious sanctity, nor does he try to exploit the religious passions and prejudices of the people. He does not make a show of religious performances. He does not weave a *hocus-pocus* of religious or metaphysical subtleties. But he is not only aware but thoroughly saturated with the true spirit of religion. In his Id-Day broadcast 1939 and again in his Id-Day message in 1941 Mr. Jinnah has shown wonderful grasp of the real religious spirit and the true significance of Islamic teachings. No learned theologian could expound the philosophy of the institutions of " Prayer " and " Fasting " and their life-value better. Mr. Jinnah combines the best elements of Western civilisation with the best features of Islamic culture and character. He fully understands the mind and the emotional leanings of the Indian Muslims. It would have been easy for him to arouse their religious frenzy. But being possessed of intellectual honesty he always rationalises his utterances and appeals to the reason and good sense of the people. Mr. Jinnah is pre-eminently clear-headed. The most complicated political tangle and the most involved consti-

tutional proposition yield to his penetrative insight and acute analysis. When all political brains are at their wits' end Mr. Jinnah always finds a way out of the impasse.

If Mr. Jinnah is a strict disciplinarian, he is first of all stern with himself. He keeps perfect control over his sentiments and likes and dislikes. It is not that he is incapable of emotional reactions. But he can always subordinate his feelings and tendencies to a higher cause and a nobler principle. It is a great thing to work with persons of doubtful loyalty and character in the larger interest of your people. Mr. Jinnah has done it and is doing it. The world does not know what wounds he has to suffer in private. He is too proud to exhibit them. He readily forgave Mr. Fazlul Haq for the wholly untrue and offensive allegations which the latter had made against him personally ; but when Mr. Haq was guilty of betraying the Muslim League and stabbing it in the back, Mr. Jinnah lost to time in taking immediate and strong action against him.

Talking of his self-confidence and self-possession one is reminded of the perfectly modulated intonation and the accurate phrasing in Mr. Jinnah's speech. Even when his emotion is heightened and his feeling intense not a single loose word or phrase escapes his lips. From a parliamentary speaker Mr. Jinnah has risen to the heights of oratory in the present phase of his leadership which began about five years ago. Mr. Jinnah now speaks to audiences of thousands and sometimes lakhs. It is really astonishing that he never lose his grip on the intricacy of the point under discussion, nor does he allow himself to be carried away by the wave of passions at the moment. The most characteristic feature of his recent speeches is that he lays emphasis on certain crucial points and finishes them with such vigour and thrilling force that the audience are stirred to their very depths. It is really wonderful how he has adapted himself to mass-gathering and how he is able to make himself understood

by the uninitiated masses. He has even begun to express himself in Urdu, a language which he had not been used to for the greater part of his life. It is delightful to hear him speak that language. In a few crisp sentences he is able to drive his point home to the common people. Every word from his lip goes straight to their hearts, and they appreciate his points fully. Whenever Mr. Jinnah speaks now, there is a flutter in every camp. Every one knows that he means business. He is not in the habit of bragging or talking tall. He only says as much as he means and as he can possibly do. The more strength and solidarity his nation acquires the more force and sting there is in his utterances.

It is said that character is destiny. It transcends circumstances. If it could truly be said of any leader in India it is Mr. Jinnah. He has proved by his character that Islam in India is itself a destiny ; it will suffer no destiny. His foremost achievement is his sublime character. He refuses to be the plaything of circumstances or political expediency. Like the *master-mind* that he is, he has overridden events and created his own circumstances. The whole face of Indian politics has been changed by his over-mastering intellect and character. Round him revolves the entire gamut of Indian politics, as he holds the key to the Indian situation. In him you find an extraordinary combination of seemingly opposite traits which have made his personality a fascinating phenonmena of human greatness. He combines richness of human feeling with acuteness of intellect, sternness of discipline with magnanimity of spirit, emotional fervour with cool calculating thought, robust optimism with caution and circumspection, unflinching courage with astute strategy, and national pride with meekness of spirit born of true religious faith. His vision is high and untrammelled by momentary vicissitudes, his speech charming and invigorating, his soul saturated with the

deepest pathos! Verily it was of some such leader that the great Poet said

نگہ بلند، سخن دلنواز، جاں پرسوز

یہی ہے رختِ سفر میرِ کارواں کے لئے

May he live long! And may Allah grant him health and strength in rich measure, so that he may lead the caravan of Muslim renaissance to its destined goal. Amen!

CONTENTS

Preface ... ... vii-viii
Introduction ... ... ix-xxvi
Speech on the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms in the Legislative Assembly, 7th February, 1935 ... 1
Statement in reply to Babu Rajendra Prasad's offer, 26th July, 1937 18
Presidential Address delivered at the Lucknow Session of the All-India Muslim League, October, 1937 ... 23
Speech delivered at the Muslim University Union, 5th February 1938 36
Speech on the *Criminal Law Amendment Bill* in the *Legislative* Assembly, 23rd August, 1938 ... 43
Statement on withdrawal from agreement in Sind, issued from Karachi, 13th October, 1938 ... 57
Statement on Muslim League's claims in reply to a statement of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, issued from Karachi, 20th October, 1938 64
Full text of the Presidential Address delivered extempore at the annual session of the All-India Muslim League held at Patna, 26th-29th December, 1938 ... 65
Speech on the Finance Bill in the Legislative Assembly, 22nd March, 1939 78
Speech at the annual dinner of the Old Boys Association of the Osmania University, 28th September, 1939 83
Message to the Muslim Youth of India, in response to a request from the Vice-President, Muslim University Union, Aligarh 84

Statement on Lord Zetland's speech in the House of Lords, 1st October, 1939 85
Statement on the question of Democracy in India ... 85
Reply to Mr. Gandhi's articles on Hindu-Muslim unity, published in the *Harijan* 89
Statement on the Congress proposal of arbitration, 9th November, 1939 90
Speech broadcast on Id-Day, 13th November, 1339 ... 91
Appeal for the observance of "Deliverance Day," issued from Bombay, 2nd December, 1939 95
Statement to the Press on "Deliverance Day" ... 97
Reply to Mr. Gandhi's statement on the Constituent Assembly published in the *News-Chronicle* ... 105
Reply to Sir Hugh O'Neil 109
Article on the Constitutional Maladies of India sent at special request of the *Time and Tide*, London, 19th January, 1940 111
Letter to Mr. Gandhi, 1st January, 1940 119
Statement on the 'Independence Day' 122
Statement to the *Daily Mail*, London 123
Speech delivered on the occasion of the unveiling of the portrait of the late Maulana Shaukat Ali, at the Anglo-Arabic College, Delhi 125
Summary of a speech delivered at a meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, 25th February, 1940 129
Speech delivered at the Muslim University Union, Aligarh, 6th March, 1940 132
Presidential Address at the All-India Muslim League, Lahore Session, March, 1940 138
Statement on success of Lahore Session of the All-India Muslim League 156
Statement on the Lahore Resolution, 1940 ... 157
Message to the Bombay Presidency Provincial Muslim League Conference held at Hubli, 26th-27th May,

1940 162
Statement in reply to the Viceroy's Appeal, 27th May, 1940 166
An Interview published in the *Times of India* in reply to an interview given to this paper by Mr. Gandhi 169
Speeches delivered in Delhi, November, 1940 ... 172
Speech at Muslim Students Conference, New Delhi, November, 1940 175
Text of the speech delivered in the Legislative Assembly, 19th November, 1940 178
Speech at Karachi, 15th December, 1940 exposing the designs of the Congress Party and the real motive of the Satyagraha movement 201
Birthday Message, 24th December, 1940 202
Statement issued to the Associated Press on Sind situation, 25th December, 1940 203
Speech at Ahmedabad, explaining the implications of the Pakistan Scheme, 28th December 1940 ... 205
Statement to the Press regarding interview with Dr. Mukerjee, 2nd January, 1941 207
Speech at Bombay, 3rd January, 1941 208
Presidential Address delivered at the Special Pakistan Session of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation 2nd March, 1941 210
Speech at the Muslim University Union, Aligarh, 10th March, 1941 225
Speech at Cawnpore, 30th March, 1941 232
Presidential Speech delivered extempore at the Madras Session, All-India Muslim League, April, 1941 ... 235
Reply to Babu Rajendra Prasad on the question of Pakistan, 17th April, 1941 255
Correspondence with Sir Tej Bahadur Supru, released on 1st May 1941 258
Letter from Sir T. B. Sapru to Mr. Jinnah, dated

Allahabad, February 6, 1941 260
Letter from Mr. Jinnah to Sir T. B. Sapru, dated Bombay, February 10, 1941 263
Letter from Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to Mr. Jinnah, dated Allahabad, February 19, 1941 264
Statement on the Sapru Conference, 4th May, 1941 ... 264
Amplified Statement on the Sapru Conference circulated to all branches of the League, May, 1941 ... 271
Speech at Ootacmund, June, 1941 276
Speech at Bangalore, June, 1941 278
Speech in reply to Address presented by Mysore State Muslim League, June, 1941 279
Statement on British Policy and the Sapru Conference issued from Bombay, 28th July, 1941 281
Statement on Defence Council issue—Correspondence with the Governor of Bombay, 28th August, 1941... 284
Mr. Jinnah's Reply 289
Letter from Sir Roger Lumley to Mr. M. A. Jinnah ... 290
Id Message to Muslim India, October, 1941 ... 291
Speech at Muslim University Union, Aligarh, 2nd November, 1941 293
Full text of the Presidential Address delivered extempore at the fifth annual session of the All-India Muslim Students Federation at Nagpore on 26th December, 1941 300
Statement on British Policy, 2nd January, 1942 ... 318
Full text of the Presidential Address delivered at the plenary session of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League Conference held at Serajganj on February 15, 1942 322
Statement on Marshal Chiang Kai-shek's Message ... 337
Statement in reply to Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya ... 339
Message to the annual session of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation, held at Rawalpindi on March 7 and 8, 1942 340

Statement in reply to Mr. Gandhi's appeal regarding an article in the *Dawn*, 11th March 1942 ... 342
Appeal for Funds, 21st March, 1942 346
Speech on Pakistan Day, 23rd March, 1942 ... 347
Presidential Address at the Allahabad Session of the *All-India Muslim* League, April 4, 1942 ... 350
Statement on Cripps Proposals at a Press Conference on April 13, 1942 360
Interview to an American Press Representative ... 364
Statement on Mr. Gandhi's 'Big Move' issued from Bombay, June 1942 ... 367
Interview to American Press Representative at Bombay, July 1, 1942 ... 369
Statement to the Press on Mr. Gandhi's article, 'To Muslim Correspondents' in *Harijan*, July 1942 ... 374
Speech at Bombay in reply to Address of Memon Merchants, 22nd July, 1942 ... 377
Statement to Foreign Press issued from Bombay, July 31, 1942 ... 378
Statement on Congress Working Committee Resolution issued from Bombay, August 1942 ... 383
Statement on the Congress Movement issued from Bombay, August 9, 1942 ... 386
Special Interview to *Daily Herald* of London at Bombay, August 14, 1942 ... 388
Statement on Collective Fines, September 1942 ... 390
Speech at a Press Conference at New Delhi on September 13, 1942 ... 391
Message on the occasion of Id-ul-Fitr, October, 1942 ... 399
Statement to the Press, New Delhi, October 31, 1942 ... 402
Speech at the meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council, Delhi, November 9, 1942 ... 404
Speech at the opening ceremony of Islamia College,

Jullundur, November 14, 1942 ... 411
Speech at a meeting held under the auspices of Muslim University Union, Aligarh, 2nd November, 1942 ... 412
Speech at the Annual Session of the All-India Muslim Students' Federation, Jullundur, November 15, 1942 ... 422
Speech at Flag hoisting ceremony at the Punjab Muslim League Conference, Lyallpur, November 18, 1942 ... 429
Speech at the Punjab Muslim League Conference, Lyallpur, November 18, 1942 ... 430
Speech at the Punjab Muslim League Conference, Lyallpur, November 19, 1942 ... 431
Speech at a public meeting in Lahore, November 20, 1942 ... 432
Statement at a Press Conference at Lahore, November 21, 1942 ... 433
Speech at the Jinnah *Islamia College for Girls*, Lahore, November 22, 1942 ... 436
Speech at a reception given in honour of his birthday at Delhi on December 25, 1942 ... 437
Speech at a meeting of the Muslim Students' Federation, Bombay, January 24, 1943 ... 439
Speech at the meeting of Bombay District Muslim Students' Federation, January 25, 1943 ... 445
Speech at Ismaili College, Bombay, February 1, 1943 445
Message on Pakistan Day, issued from Delhi, March 23, 1943 ... 447
Message to N.-W. F. P. Muslim Students' Federation, April 4, 1943 ... 449
Presidential Address delivered extempore at the thirtieth session of the All-India Muslim League, Delhi, April 24, 1943 ... 450
Statement on British Press reactions to his Speech, issued from Delhi, May 3, 1943 ... 489

Statement on Government communique regarding Mr. Gandhi's letter, Bombay, May 28, 1943 ... 490
Statement at a Press Conference at Karachi, June 4, 1943 ... 492
Speech at the Baluchistan Muslim League Conference, July 3, 1943 ... 494
Speech at the second sitting of the Baluchistan Muslim League Conference, July 4, 1943 ... 496
Special Message, conveyed through Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan Sahib, to the Muslims of North-West Frontier Province on the eve of the by-elections to the Provincial Assembly, July 20, 1943 ... 498
Statement of Mr. Jinnah and his Secretary on the dastardly attack made on the life of Mr. Jinnah, July 26, 1943 ... 499
Message to the Muslims of North-West Frontier Province about the by-elections to the Provincial Assembly, July 28, 1943 ... 501
Appeal to Muslims of India for contributions to the fund opened by the Calcutta Muslim Chamber of Commerce to relieve the distress of the people of Bengal due to shortage of food, August 31, 1943 ... 501
Interview to the Foreign Press, Bombay, September, 24, 1943 ... 502
Id-ul-Fitr Message to the Muslims of India issued from Bombay, September, 30, 1943 ... 504
Speech at a reception given by Memon Chamber of Commerce in Bombay on the occasion of Id-ul-Fitr, October 1, 1943 ... 505

Speech on the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms in the Legislative Assembly on 7th February, 1935.

[After the three sittings of the Round Table Conference a White Paper, embodying the proposals of the British Government for constitutional reforms, was issued. Later a Joint Committee consisting of members of both Houses of Parliament was appointed to go through the whole question. After prolonged sittings and cross-examination of witnesses the Committee published its recommendations in its Report. The Legislative Assembly in India was also invited to discuss the Report and express its opinion. The scheme recommended by the Committee was in two parts—one proposing a federation of Indian States and British Indian provinces, the other conferring autonomy on the provinces. Another aspect of the Report was the Communal Award which fixed the proportion of representation of the various communities and interests in the legislatures, provincial and federal. The most weighty and successful contribution to the debate was made by Mr. Jinnah who, as leader of the Independent Party, took an eminently sane and practical view of the matter and reflected the true Muslim opinion. The position was that the Federal scheme was most retrograde and detrimental specially from the Muslim point of view. The provincial scheme had many objectionable features, but it did represent a certain amount of advance on the present position. As for the Communal Award, it held the field in the absence of any agreed solution of the problem. Mr. Jinnah proved himself to be the greatest strategist on the occasion. His amendment to the original resolution for acceptance of the Report was in three parts. Firstly, his amendment recommending acceptance of the Communal Award till an agreed solution is found was carried, the Congress Party remaining neutral and Government supporting. The other two parts expressing dissatisfac tion with the provincial scheme and completely rejecting the Federal part were carried, the Congress Party supporting the amendment. The result of the debate was hailed as a personal triumph for Mr. Jinnah, his political acumen and parliamentary skill.]

MR. M. A. JINNAH *(Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban)*: Sir, on an occasion of such grave importance, I wish to draw the attention of the House to the attacks and misrepresentations that have been made with regard to my position regarding this question, and I think the House will bear with me for a few minutes. A newspaper, of the standing and position like the *Statesman*, has, in its recent issue dated the 2nd February, stated this :

" Race hatred is the prime mover of the Congress Party which has an important following. No doubt, they will always find fortuitous allies like Mr. Jinnah."

Sir, I repel that with all the power that I can command. (" Hear, hear " from the Opposition Benches.) I bear no race hatred of any kind whatsoever to any race. (Hear, hear.)

SIR MUHAMMAD YAKUB *(Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions ; Muhammadan Rural)*: Shame to that paper !

MR. M. A. JINNAH : Then the paper proceeds further and says this :

" Mr. Jinnah, who started as a keen Round Tabler, an enthusiastic Federalist—"

—Yes, I admit, Sir, I was not only a keen Round Tabler but, if I may say so, I was the keenest Round Tabler, but I did not start as an enthusiastic Federalist. From the very commencement, rightly or wrongly, I knew that the scheme would never materialise in a manner which would satisfy the legitimate aspirations of India. Then, this paper further on says :

" Is now " (that is I) " dissatisfied, because he was not invited to the later sittings of the Conference."

SEVERAL HONOURABLE MEMBERS : Shame, shame !

MR. M. A. JINNAH : I was not invited to the later sittings of the Conference because I was the strongest opponent of the scheme, that was being constructed, from the commencement, and not that I have become an opponent because I was

not invited to the Third Round Table Conference. Sir, these lies, these insinuations, these reflections are not worthy of any newspaper worth the name...

THE HONOURABLE SIR HENRY CRAIK: I hope the Honourable Member is not associating me with those remarks, because he keeps on looking at me. I had nothing to do with it. May I assure my friend that I have not even read what he has just read out. I never heard of the article before, and this is the first time I hear it from my Honourable friend.

SIR MUHAMMAD YAKUB: Now, probably, the Honourable the Home Member will associate himself with what Mr. Jinnah has said against that newspaper.

MR. M. A. JINNAH: Well, Sir, I will leave it at that. I do not for a moment include the Honourable the Home Member in the criticism I have made, or for the matter of that, I do not include any other Englishman, except the writer of that article.

THE HONOURABLE SIR HENRY CRAIK: I know nothing about it.

MR. M. A. JINNAH: I will say no more about it for the moment.

Coming, Sir, to the question before the House, first I shall deal with some of the observations that fell from my Honourable friend, the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Desai. Sir, I do not agree with his amendment. His first amendment is a flat rejection. I admit that I do not dispute it, and I don't think he disputes it either; it is a flat rejection, because he asks that no legislation shall be proceeded with based on the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report. That means that if we accept it, everything goes, and I think he will also admit that nothing remains, even his neutrality in regard to the Communal Award goes. Is that the reason why he, having taken up the position that it should be thrown out lock, stock and

barrel, says in the second part of his amendment that he is neutral to the Communal Award? Now, Sir, I cannot accept his view. He has no alternative either, and, therefore, it is a pure and simple negative position, and I cannot subscribe to that position. That is the reason, Sir, why I have been compelled to put forward my amendment. My amendment accepts the Communal Award,—and, remember, until when,—until a substitute is agreed upon between the communities concerned. Now, it may be that our Hindu friends are not satisfied with the Communal Award, but at the same time I can also tell the House that my Muslim friends are not satisfied with it either (Hear, hear), because it does not meet their full demand. And speaking for myself, personally, I am not satisfied with the Communal Award (Hear, hear), and, again speaking as an individual, my self-respect will never be satisfied until we produce our own scheme. (An Honourable Member: "Very good of you.") (Hear, hear.) Do not relegate me only to God, but take the man into consideration also. But why do I accept it? I do not want to go into the past history, but I can tell the House that I accept it because we have done everything that we could so far to come to a settlement, and, though, so far, we have not been able to come to a settlement, and, therefore, whether I like it or whether I do not like it, I accept it, because unless I accept that, no scheme of Constitution is possible. ("Hear, hear" from Official Benches.) Therefore, please stop this talk of rejection now. For the time being let it stand. I entirely reciprocate every sentiment which the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition expressed, and I agree with him that religion should not be allowed to come into politics, that race should not be allowed to come into politics. Language does not matter so much, I agree with him, if taken singly one by one. Religion is merely a matter between man and God, I agree with him there entirely, but I ask him to consider this,—is this a ques-

tion of religion purely? Is this a question of language purely? No, Sir, this is a question of minorities and it is a political issue. (Some Muslim Honourable Member: "Civilisation and culture.") Have we not got in other countries question of minorities? Have not those problems been faced and solved?—and this problem must also be faced and solved. Now, what are the minorities? Minorities mean a combination of things. It may be that a minority has a different religion from the other citizens of a country. Their language may be different, their race may be different, their culture may be different, and the combination of all these various elements—religion, culture, race, language, art, music, and so forth makes the minority a separate entity in the State, and that separate entity as an entity wants safeguards. Surely, therefore, we must face this question as a political problem; we must solve it and not evade it.

Then my Honourable friend laid down the proposition: acquisition first and distribution afterwards. There is a great fallacy, if I may say so most respectfully, in that statement. This is not a question of acquisition and distribution. It is not that we are acquiring some land, it is not that we are going to enter upon a venture and then we share or distribute the spoils. But, may I know, if that proposition is correct, why did Mahatma Gandhi fast unto death and come to an agreement with the sanction and concurrence of all leaders from India and arrive at the Poona Pact as regards the Depressed Classes? (Hear, hear.) Why were they not told, acquisition first and distribution afterwards? (Hear, hear.) Mahatma Gandhi was right. He knew, and they are drawn from your race, they are Hindus, 50 or 60 millions of Hindus. He was right, and I agree with him. I begged of him in England. First he said: "No, I will not divide the Hindus. I will never agree to this." I begged of him. Believe me, I pleaded more for the Depressed Classes before Mahatma Gandhi than I did for the Musalmans. But he

was adamant, but ultimately he did realise, and I congratulate my Hindu brethren that they have, by recognising and giving this protection and safeguard to the Depressed Classes, won them over, and to-day he is still working for their amelioration. Show us the same spirit, join hands with us and we are ready. (Hear, hear.) I will say no more about the Communal Award.

Now I come to the question of my amendment. Sir, the Honourable the Leader of the House was very hard on me. He said, he understood the straightforward, honest amendment of the Leader of the Opposition, but he said that mine was a disingenuous...

THE HONOURABLE SIR NRIPENDRA SIRCAR (*Leader of the House*) : Crooked and tortuous.

MR. M. A. JINNAH : He reminded me of a petty court where a petty lawyer, when he has got a bad case, abuses the other side. So he started by abusing me. He never told me why it was crooked, why it was tortuous, and why it was disingenuous.

THE HONOUABLE SIR NRIPENDRA SIRCAR : I will tell you at 3-30.

MR. M. A. JINNAH : Ah ! That is the game, that is adopting tactics which are not fair in this House. It may have been all right if he was in the High Court working for a reply. I want Government to put their cards on the table and tell me on what grounds you say that my amendment is disingenuous, tortuous and crooked......

THE HONOURABLE SIR NRIPENDRA SIRCAR : Grounds I have stated.

MR. M. A. JINNAH : You have not stated. What does he say ? " Mr. Jinnah, by his amendment "—I suppose he meant No. 3, he could not have meant No. 2,—he said, " if the third amendment of Mr. Jinnah was carried, what would happen ? " He said, " What he wants us to do is this. He wants to destroy the foundation, he wants to keep the upper storey

and wants us to change the glasses and windows." Is that your answer? Have you studied your own Bill? There is no foundation that we can talk of except one, and there is no storey, and the only storey is the pretty story of the Law Member about glasses and windows. Go and deliver those stories to the children! (Laughter.) There is no such thing as a storey here, and I shall illustrate it to the House. Let us examine this thing. Now, what are we doing? We are building a constitutional scheme for the provinces first, then we are building a scheme for the Central Government, it is all ground floor, there is no storey. I was threatened further, if the third amendment of mine were carried, the whole Bill would drop. But what does the Bill itself do? What does the Joint Parliamentary Committee Report itself say? It says that, in the first instance, Provincial Autonomy will come into being as soon as this Bill is passed, or very soon after it. But the Federation is not coming into being. It may take two years, it may take three years, it may take five years, and they have laid down in this very report and the White Paper proposals that there may be difficulties after the Provincial Autonomy has come into being in full working order. There may be difficulties, and there are various other conditions which have got to be complied with. They have got to get the assent of the princes, they have got to get the instruments of accession, they have got other things to do. Then, at page 286 of the Joint Parliamentary Committee Report, we find this:

"It is probable that it will be found convenient, or even necessary, that the new Provincial Governments should be brought into being in advance of the changes in the Central Government and the entry of the States. But the coming into being of the autonomous Provinces will only be the first step towards the complete Federation for which the Constitution Act will provide; and His Majesty's Government have stated that if causes beyond

their control should place obstacles in the way of this programme, they will take steps to review the whole position in consultation with Indian opinion.

"Provision will, accordingly, be required in the Constitution Act for the period, however short it may be, by which Provincial Autonomy may precede the complete establishment of the Federation. The nature of the transitory arrangements contemplated for this purpose is explained in paragraph 202 of the Proposals."

And that is provided in the Bill itself. Therefore, the question of Federation coming into being still is suspended, it is subject to the vote of the two Houses of Parliament, and is subject to various other conditions which will have to be complied with. Now, my reply to you is this. Please stop this scheme,—remember, I want to emphasise—this scheme of Federation, stop it. I do not want to wait for those conditions to arise. The conditions have already arisen in my judgment, and I say, stop this. What are the conditions that have arisen? The conditions that have arisen are these. I have seen your scheme and it is thoroughly rotten, fundamentally bad and totally unacceptable. (An Honourable Member: "Why?") Why, am I to be told that the whole Bill will be dropped! That is what I want to know. And now I will tell you why I object to the Central scheme. I object to the Central scheme first. Take your own words: "Sir, not as the President but as a public man, as a prominent leader and a Leader of the Independent Party." This is what you said: "The scheme is wholly unnatural, artificial and unknown to any Constitution." I would add to that—It is devoid of all basic and essential elements and the fundamental requirements which are necessary to form any Federation. My second ground is that it proposes the entry of the princes on terms and conditions laid down by them, as *sine qua non* and as conditions precedent, and which are,

on the face of them, most detrimental to the vital interests of British India. There may be an impression that I am against the princes. I am not against the princes. I am not against anybody. I am for British India. It is not that I do not wish to have anything to do with the princes. I have said it over and over again that I am not opposed to all-India Federation and the Honourable the Home Member very rightly said that even Mahatma Gandhi was not opposed to all-India Federation. What follows from that? When I say that I am not opposed to all-India Federation, does it follow from that that you are to hold me to any scheme of all-India Federation that you laid down, however bad and however unacceptable it may be? Is that the argument? The point is not that we are opposed to all-India Federation but what kind of all-India Federation? I say, standing on the floor of the House, that I do not preclude myself from considering any alternative scheme of all-India Federation which I think is in the interests of British India, and I shall be only too glad if I am satisfied that it is good to accept it. I know this also that having regard to these impossible terms, which the princes have laid down, it is impossible to construct any kind of Federation worth its name, and, therefore, I say it is no use going on like this. We have gone on for four years. On the one hand, the princes have laid down their definite ultimatum—this and no more. On the other hand the British Government have laid down their safeguards—an iron wall. This you must accept! And I am between the two. You accept this and call it a Federation. That is not a fair way of looking at the scheme. Therefore, I am obliged to say this scheme is not acceptable. As regards the Honourable the Home Member, I accept every word of what he said about his sincerity. I appreciate his appeal. I understand the spirit in which he spoke. I am thankful to him for all that. I know that he believes what he said. What he said was this: take this and work it.

He *said*: "When there was no light, what happened to Moses? He was in darkness." True, but is there any light here? Is this the light? I say that Moses is still in darkness!

THE HONOURABLE SIR HENRY CRAIK: My point was that it was not we but the Congress Party who blew out the candle.

MR. M. A. JINNAH: When it suits the Home Member, when it suits the Government, they say that the Congress represents the whole of India. When it suits them, they say that the Congress is only rebels and a minority in this country. Where do I come in? Where do all these stand? (pointing to some of the Muslim members and the rest of the House). This really is not a fair argument—because of the utterances of a few of my countrymen, you are going to impose this Constitution on India and, therefore, I should accept it. Might I not turn round and say: "What about Mr. Churchill, Lord Lloyd, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Sir Reginald Craddock and the rest of them?" If I am to believe their utterances and go by them, would I not be justified to say: "I will kick the British out from *India* at once and there is nothing to talk about?" Do I say that? But the British Government are determined to impose on me this Constitution, which, they know perfectly well, as well as I do, is much worse than the present Constitution. Why do they want to impose this upon us against our will? If I were to go by the utterances of one section or one party, and then decide to meet that, it is not a fair deal to India. It is an excuse. When I have examined this problem in no light manner, but with full responsibility, what do I find? I believe that it means nothing but absolute sacrifice of all that British India has stood for and developed during the last 50 years, in the matter of progress in the representative form of Government No province was consulted as such. No consent of the princes has been obtained, whether they are willing to federate as federating units on

the terms which are laid down by the princes or by the British Government. My next objection is that it is not workable. It does not really satisfy anybody and it certainly does not satisfy the minimum demand of anybody. It is not workable. Believe me, it will lead us to nothing but bitterness and ill-will, nothing but wrangles in the so-called Federal Legislature. I appeal to the princes to consider whether they are prepared to draw the chestnuts out of the fire. I appeal to the princes also—is this the responsibility which they laid down for the Centre and on which condition they were prepared to come into the Federation ? The princes laid it down that, " yes, we are willing to come, provided there is a real, substantial responsibility at the Centre." Do they find that that is there ? Here there are 98 per cent of the safeguards and two per cent of responsibility ! Sir, I appeal to them to consider this aspect.

Now, next, what do we find about the safeguards ? I am not going into the various clauses of the Statute. I will only give a short summary to the House in two sentences. Reserve Bank, Currency, Exchange—nothing doing. Railway Board—nothing doing, mortgaged to the hilt. What is left ? Fiscal Autonomy Convention. (Laughter.) Next, what is left ? Defence, External Affairs—reserved ; Finance —it is already mortgaged to the hilt, our Budget, and the little that may be here, what do we find ? Special responsibility of the Governor-General ! His powers as to the Budget and the estimates, his powers as to the interference in legislation, his extraordinary powers, his special responsibility. Sir, what do they leave us ? What will this Legislature do ? The Honourable the Home Member asked : " Are we willing to go on with this present humiliating and intolerable Constitution ? " I say, I do not like this Constitution, it is humiliating, it is intolerable, but I will refer you to the words of Lord Reading. It has got more powers than the one that you are giving me, and the one that

you are proposing now is more humiliating and more intolerable than the present one. But I know they will say to me,—and I think somebody said that the Leader of the Opposition is really playing the same role as Mr. Winston Churchill,—and that I shall be told also probably that I am playing the same role as Mr. Winston Churchill because he wants to wreck the scheme and we are joining hands with Mr. Churchill. You will say that to me. Yes, I know that.

THE HONOURABLE SIR HENRY CRAIK: You are.

MR. M. A. JINNAH: I am doing it with my eyes open.

THE HONOURABLE SIR NRIPENDRA SIRCAR: You may change any moment, Churchill won't.

MR. M. A. JINNAH: I am not concerned whether the Law Member changes or whether I change. I am now concerned with expressing my opinion. This, Sir, is a grave moment. I have to express my opinion and I must express my opinion with all the responsibility, and I must express my opinion deliberately and clearly, and that is what I am concerned with. Nor am I concerned with the threat of the Law Member that the Bill will be dropped. He knows nothing about it. (Laughter.) The whole of the Government of India know nothing about it. What is the good of their pretending? I am not going to make any appeal to them. As the Home Member very correctly said, neither the Government nor the people of this country have the last word; the last word is with the Parliament. I want to express my opinion for the benefit of Parliament and I want to tell them what my opinion is, and let them take the consequences. Therefore, if the Home Member said: "You are playing into the hands of Mr. Churchill," my answer is: "If you want to misunderstand us, do so, if you want to misrepresent us, do so. We are not agreeing with Mr. Churchill. Mr. Churchill's point is that he does not want any advance at the Centre. That is not my point. My point is that I do not want this scheme at the Centre, and

I call upon you to review the whole position in consultation with Indian opinion and to establish a responsible Government in my country." (Loud and prolonged Applause.) That is the difference. Well, Sir, as I say, therefore, it is no use misrepresenting us. Then, Sir, it is really a breach *of a solemn* announcement made by the Viceroy, then Lord Irwin, now Lord Halifax, and, as Mr. Sastri said, with the change of his name he has changed his views also! (Laughter.) But, Sir, the announcement that he made was not on his own personal behalf, but on behalf of His Majesty's Government, and what was that announcement? "That His Majesty's Government will place those proposals before Parliament which will receive the largest common measure of agreement." I ask you in all your conscience: has the scheme received the largest common measure of agreement—*I* mean of the Indian opinion? It may have received the largest common measure of agreement of the Conservative Party, but that was not the announcement. Therefore, there *is no agreement*. Then, we were told in our *earlier* stages that we were going to make India an equal partner. Sir, that word is dropped recently. Is this a partnership? Sir, the meaning of the word "partnership" and the meaning of "co-operation" with our British friends was this, that "we will call you a partner, but you must do as I *tell you.*" Well, we will call it "co-operation and good-will" *provided you submit* to me in everything that I say and everything that I do. That is good-will! That is co-operation! Sir, I from the very start felt—and I am more convinced than I was at that time—that this idea of an all-India Federation was started as a device in order to withhold responsibility at the Centre in the British Indian Constitution. We were put on the wrong track. Anybody, who had any sense must have seen or at any rate, within a short time, realised that the scheme which we were led into and had undertaken to construct was

impossible really to construct. It was an impossibility almost from the start, and now there is this vicious circle : Provincial Autonomy, Federation, then responsibility at the Centre. What responsibility at the Centre ? This. If you don't accept this scheme, no responsibility at the Centre, and there is nothing more to be done, and even Provincial Autonomy must go. The whole thing is to be dropped. I, therefore, say to this House that the third part of my amendment really is clear, is definite in this, that I do not accept the scheme, and I call upon His Majesty's Government to review the whole position in consultation with Indian opinion.

My friend Mr. Mody said why not say now that these are the modifications we want ? The answer I can give is this. I think the House will agree with me, because it is on record that at the First Round Table Conference we made proposals and suggestions which ended in the Sankey report. We practically rejected most of the important considerations. At the next Round Table Conference, we again made proposals and suggestions. It was worse than the first one. And what is more important is that when they say that the proposals that we made would give us an advantage, they took jolly good care to see that some safeguard is invented to prevent that being exercised. The Third Round Table Conference was still worse. Then came the Joint Parliamentary Committee. I do not challenge for a single moment that some of the Indian gentlemen who associated with the Joint Parliamentary Committee were patriots. They were men for whom I have respect, however much I may disagree with them. They tried their very best. As Mr. Sastri said, they were not only incurable optimists like my Honourable friend Mr. Mody but they were chronic and incurable co-operators and they hoped against hope and they thought that they could still appeal to the fair mind of the British people and the British

statesmen and they went on in that hope. Ultimately, when all failed, they prepared a joint Memorandum. All sections—Hindus, Musalmans, Parsees and others—jointly said: At least give effect to these modifications. They were the moderate of moderates. What has happened to it? Where is that joint Memorandum now? It is in the waste-paper basket! Sir, I say, our self-respect demands that, helpless as we are, we must move on. We have seen this scheme, and we are not going to accept it. I want no more dilly-dallying; I want to express my definite opinion. I am threatened: "Are you going to remain in darkness for ever? Are you going to go without a Constitution of any kind for ever?" Well, these threats are not going to disturb me. These threats are not going to prevent me from expressing my views. If you like, go on with this Constitution. Therefore, Sir, I hope I have convinced the House that I am not taking merely what you may call a petulant attitude or that I am trying to force my views on anybody. I say, these are the events and I say that we must really express our opinion now unequivocally. Then, about the safeguards. It is said—I think the Honourable the Law Member said it—that these safeguards will not be used. Sir, I have got the speech of the Secretary of State for India with me, and I do not want to quote it. But he says that these safeguards are going to be used. Not only are they going to be used but he says: "Remember what is behind them. The whole service is behind us, and ultimately he says the whole army is behind us, and these safeguards are going to be used." So, what is the good of telling me that they are not going to be used?

The next thing I wish to say is this. Sir Joseph Bhore made an appeal—a personal appeal, and I have great respect for him. I have very great respect for his opinion. He said, make the best of it. Sir, I would have understood that, but then he quoted Abraham Lincoln, a great patriot with

noble sentiments. When he quoted Abraham Lincoln, it reminded me "the devil quoting the scripture." He did not finish the scripture. Is there any analogy between what Abraham Lincoln said there and the conditions and the circumstances that were in front of him and the conditions and circumstances that are in front of us? Sir, that is what I have to say so far as the third part of my amendment is concerned.

With regard to the second part of my amendment, I think Honourable Members ought to appreciate that I am not carried away by any extraneous considerations. If I had been I would have certainly agreed with my Honourable friend, the Leader of the Opposition. I may be wrong or I may be right, but I do believe and I have no hesitation in saying so on the floor of this House that, so far as the provincial schemes are concerned, they are *undoubtedly* an advance on the present, and that is why I want to make a distinction. They are an advance to this extent, and I will put it shortly. First of all, the franchise, enlargement of the electors and voters. That is the foundation-stone of any Constitution. That is an advance in my judgment. Next, all the members of the Provincial Legislatures will be elected: that is an advance. Your cabinet in the provinces will be of the elected members responsible to the Legislature and the Legislature will be responsible to the electorates. That framework of the Provincial Constitution is undoubtedly an advance. But having done that, there are certain objectionable features which I have already pointed out, such as the Second Chamber and the Governor's powers. I think the Honourable the Leader of the House was wrong when he said that I was only dealing with special responsibility. My amendment deals not only with special responsibility but it says that there are some highly objectionable features, particularly the Second Chamber and the extraordinary and special respon-

sibility powers. I am not making any distinction—and, of course, rules with regard to the Police and the Intelligence Department. Therefore, the distinction that I make is that with regard to the Provincial scheme. I cannot say that I am so fundamentally opposed to it as to reject it. Therefore, I say, please make those modifications, and if you make those modifications...

MR. S. SATYAMURTI : Is there any chance ?

MR. M. A. JINNAH : I am not going now by chances. I am not gambling here.

MR. S. SATYAMURTI : You are.

MR. M. A. JINNAH : I am not. I am expressing my opinion. I am not here at a game of chance. Therefore, I am expressing my opinion and I am expressing it, as far as it lies in my judgment, honestly and fairly and consistent with the realities and the facts. Therefore, I say, make these modifications. I think the Honourable Member, the Leader of the Opposition, said that my amendment also means a rejection.

MR. S. SATYAMURTI (*sitting*) : Even the Leader of the House says so.

MR. M. A. JINNAH : Have you got to say anything ?

[Mr. Jinnah sat down, but there was no reply from Mr. Satyamurti.]

The Honourable the Leader of the Opposition said that my amendment also means rejection, I mean the third part of my amendment. He takes a legal view, and, to a certain extent, he is right, and I will tell you to what extent he is right. You have made an offer, and so far as he is concerned, he says : " I do not look at it. It is so bad and I am so much disgusted with it that I do not want to look at it or any part of it.

MR. BHULABHAI J. DESAI (*Bombay Northern Division : Non-Muhammadan Rural*) : I have looked at it, but found it disgusting.

MR. M. A. JINNAH: He says: "I won't look at it again; I am finished with it." I, on the other hand, say: Yes, I have examined it: it is bad as far as provinces go, and the Central scheme is totally bad, fundamentally bad: however, I do not stop there, but I make you a counter-proposal, because, I think, it is my duty, not merely to indulge in a flat negative. You will say: "What do you want then?" Well Moses does not want to be in darkness for all time. Moses says to you: This is my alternative and proceed with it. Modify the Provincial scheme, drop the Central scheme, and review the whole position in consultation with Indian opinion with a view to establishing complete responsible Government in British India. Sir, I have done. (Applause.)

Statement in reply to Babu Rajendra Prasad's offer, issued on 26th July, 1937

I have seen the report of the statement of Babu Rajendra Prasad under the heading "Rajendra Babu returns to the charge."

Babu Rajendra Prasad begins by saying:

"I have seen Mr. Jinnah's statement regarding the breakdown of the Delhi negotiations. I am afraid that there is nothing in my statement which I should withdraw."

The statement that I complained of was made by him in his interview which was published on July 6, 1937, in which he stated: "It is not correct to say that even a certain section of the influential Congress leaders was deadly opposed to the formula." I think he must be satisfied now after the statement of the Bengal leaders who say that that is not true.

"SPORTING OFFER"

In what he characterises as a 'sporting offer' he makes

another statement which also is absolutely incorrect and without foundation. He says: "I am making a sporting offer to Mr. Jinnah, that I offer to get the formula accepted by the Congress even to-day if he offers as he had done, then to get signatures to it of all Musalman leaders barring one or two whom he had named to me."

It is a conditional offer devoid of any sporting spirit. In the first place I never offered to get signatures to Babu Rajendra Prasad's formula of all Muslim leaders barring one or two whom I had named or any leader. Babu Rajendra Prasad has forgotten the genesis of our conversations. I was requested by Babu Rajendra Prasad and other Congress leaders to meet him, and the question was how to put an end to the bitter controversy that was raging at the time over the Communal Award until a substitute was agreed upon between the communities concerned, and that we should utilise the Provincial Constitution for what it was worth and carry on our united struggle until we secure a constitution for our country which will satisfy our people. This was not acceptable to Babu Rajendra Prasad and his friends.

SUBSTITUTE FOR AWARD

Next, it was suggested that if they could propose a substitute on the basis of joint electorate which would be more in the interests of the Musalmans than the Communal Award, would I then consider it? I naturally said if any such proposal came with the universal support of the communities concerned, namely, the Hindus and Sikhs, I would place it before the session of the All-India Muslim League without delay and in my reply to his letter asking me to meet him I wrote as follows:

Dear Rajen Prasad,

Thank you for your letter of the 24th instant. I have consulted a few friends and I should be glad to meet you in

my individual capacity for the purpose referred to in your letter as requested by you.

Yours sincerely
M. A. JINNAH

WHY THROUGH PRESS?

I had no authority from the League to come to any agreement and my position to-day is exactly the same as before. It is somewhat astonishing that Babu Rajendra Prasad should have adopted the method, the manner and the channel of approach, through which he flung this "sporting offer," with regard to an issue which involves the fate and the future of eighty millions of Musalmans and the country at large. In all seriousness I appeal to him, does he think that this is the right way to open negotiations, through the channel of the press for the settlement of this vital and far-reaching question? *His* "sporting offer" amounts to this, that I must get the *signatures of all* Musalman leaders from all over India except one or two and *request him* to get it passed by the Congress.

Surely if a substitute for the Communal Award which the Musalmans have already accepted is to be proposed, it can only come from the Hindu and Sikh leaders who are opposed to it and the two communities *directly* concerned. I can repeat now what I said when we commenced our talks at Delhi in January, 1935, that if Babu Rajendra Prasad is so sure of getting the Congress to adopt his formula as a substitute for the Communal Award, and informs me to that effect with the authority and sanction of the Congress, I will place it before the All-India Muslim League without delay.

IN SELF-DEFENCE!

I do not wish in any way to make the course of negotiations

or settlement difficult. But I must say in self-defence that the sudden change of front and the manner, the method and the channel, namely the press, that are adopted and what is being reported in newspapers about a few Muslims in the United Provinces threatening to leave the Muslim League, *if I do not carry out what* Babu Rajendra Prasad has enjoined me to do, lead me to suspect that it is not a genuine desire for an honourable settlement, but is an attempt to divide the Musalmans, to split the Muslim League and to strike a blow at unity among Musalmans for which I have been working. For until yesterday, not to go beyond the Faizpur resolution, according to the pronouncements of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, speaking with the authority of the President of the Congress, the position was that "to talk about the rights and interests of the minorities and their safeguards was utter nonsense." The Congress, according to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the Secretary of the Congress, in their latest statements, was out to destroy the Communal Award, as it was not acceptable to them and we were told that if we wanted any settlement, we must apply to the Hindu Mahasabha.

A STRAY MUSALMAN !

In the meantime the Congress policy was that Musalmans should join the Congress unconditionally and sign their pledge. After the Congress was flushed with its majority in six provinces, it deliberately decided to ignore, nay, decided to non-co-operate with the Muslim League Parties in the various Provincial Legislatures, and they have in forming the Ministries vindicated the justice and the fair treatment to the minorities urged and promised by Mahatma Gandhi very recently by having made a good feast of all the loaves and fishes that are at present available for the Congress Party in the various Legislatures and getting a stray

Musalman to exchange a pledge overnight to accept Ministry the next morning ! I regret that I should be obliged to point out these matters and that I should have to resort to a *post-mortem* inquisition. As to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's statement which appears side by side with that of Babu Rajendra Prasad on the 20th July, what can I say to that busy-body President ? What does he know of what took place between me and Babu Rajendra Prasad ? He seems to carry the responsibility of the whole world on his shoulders and must poke his nose in everything except minding his own business. Again he comes back to another point with regard to the statement which was alleged to have been issued by me as an appeal to the voters of Bundelkhand-Jhansi electorate which I have already repudiated and said that no such statement was issued by me.

MESSAGE TO MAHATMA

I assure the Musalmans and the public at large that I am not in the slightest degree affected by anything that has happened in the past, and nobody will welcome an honourable settlement between the Hindus and the Musalmans more than I and nobody will be so ready to help it, and as an earnest on my part I sent a message to Mr. Gandhi when he was at Tithal only in the month of May last appealing to him to take up the question of Hindu-Muslim settlement and concentrate his great influence and efforts to which I received the following reply on May 22, 1937 :

DEAR MR. JINNAH,

Kher has given me your message. I wish I could do something but I am utterly helpless. My faith in unity is bright as ever ; only I see no daylight out of the impenetrable darkness and in such distress I cry out to God for light.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

A WORD TO MUSALMANS

In conclusion I want to say a word to Musalmans. Those few waverers who are ready or about to betray us for jobs need not seek excuses or loopholes to justify their threatened secession from the All-India Muslim League. They may go, but those members of the League, if they have a shred of conscience left, should tender their resignations and contest the seats again on Congress ticket. I am sure that the All-India Muslim League will be all the better without such men. To those who suffer from defeatist mentality I say, have courage and faith, *Dehli dur ast* ; and I say to all Musalmans of India to organise, consolidate and establish solidarity and unity. Service, suffering and sacrifice are absolutely essential conditions before we can achieve anything big and secure our rightful place in the national life of our country.

Presidential Address delivered at the Lucknow Session of the All-India Muslim League, in October, 1937.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

This session of the All-India Muslim League is one of the most critical that have ever taken place during its existence for the last more than thirty years.

The policy and the programme that you are called upon to formulate and lay down involves the fate and the future of the Musalmans of India and the country at large. On the 12th April, 1936, the Muslim League at its session, the first time in its history, undertook the policy and programme of mass contact. The League considered the prevailing conditions and surveyed the situation as we had to face the forthcoming elections on the eve of the inaugura-

tion of the new Provincial Constitution embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, and had no alternative but to enter the field and contest the elections to the Provincial Legislatures. It was also felt that there was no alternative but to utilise the Provincial Constitution for what it was worth, although it was far from being satisfactory. I may here reproduce the resolution that was passed on the 12th April, 1936 :—

" Whereas the Parliamentary System of Government which is being introduced in this country with the inauguration of the new Constitution presupposes the formation of parties with a well-defined policy and programme which facilitate the education of the electorate, and co-operation between groups with approximate aims and ideals and ensures the working of the Constitution to the best advantage ; and whereas in order to strengthen the solidarity of the Muslim community and to secure for the Muslims their proper and effective share in the Provincial Governments, it is essential that the Muslims should organise themselves as one party, with an advanced and progressive programme, it is hereby resolved that the All-India Muslim League do take steps, to contest the approaching provincial elections, and for this purpose appoint Mr. Jinnah to form a Central Election Board under his presidentship, consisting of not less than 35 members, with powers to constitute and affiliate Provincial Election Boards in various provinces, having regard to the conditions of each province and devise ways and means for carrying out the aforesaid objects."

In pursuance of that decision, the Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board was established in June, 1936, and also in various provinces Provincial Boards were established to give effect to the resolution and the instructions of the League. It was not without difficulty and it was no small task to be performed, in the absence of any previous preparations or any existing sufficient organisation and

machinery. It was a stupendous undertaking to contest elections in all the provinces especially when Musalmans all over India are numerically in a minority and weak, educationally backward, and economically nowhere. There never had been made any systematic effort for their social and economic uplift, whereas our sister communities have gone far ahead with their organisations and the systematic programme supported by a large bulk of people, especially the Hindus, who are not only in a majority but better trained, more disciplined and far better equipped educationally, economically and financially.

But here I may mention that within a short time of about six months' work, before the elections were over, the results were very hopeful, and there is no need for us to despair. In each and every province where League Parliamentary Board was established and the League Parties were constituted we carried away about 60 and 70 per cent of the seats that were contested by the League candidates, and since the elections were over I find that hundreds of District Leagues have been established in almost every province from the farthest corner of Madras to the North-West Frontier Province. Since April last the Musalmans of India have rallied round the League more and more and I feel confident that once they understand and realise the policy and programme of the Muslim League, the entire Musalman population of India will rally round its platform and under its flag. The Muslim League stands for full national democratic self-government for India. A great deal of capital is made as to phrases more for the consumption of the ignorant and illiterate masses. Various phrases are used such as *Purna Swaraj, self-government, complete independence, responsible government, substance of independence* and *dominion status.* There are some who talk of complete independence. But it is no use having complete independence on your lips and the Government of India Act, 1935,

in your hands! Those who talk of complete independence the most, mean the least what it means. Was the Gandhi-Irwin Pact in consonance with complete independence? Were the assurances that were required before the offices would be accepted and the Provincial Constitution could be worked consistent with *Purna Swaraj*, and was the resolution after the assurances were refused accepting offices and working the Provincial Constitution enacted by the British Parliament and forced upon the people of India by the imperialistic power in keeping with the policy and programme and the declarations of the Congress Party? Does wrecking mean working? These paper declarations, slogans and shibboleths are not going to carry us anywhere. What India requires is a complete united front and honesty of purpose and then by whatever name you may call your government is a matter of no consequence so long as it is a government of the people, by the people, for the people.

The present leadership of the Congress, especially during the last ten years, has been responsible for alienating the Musalmans of India more and more by pursuing a policy which is exclusively Hindu, and since they have formed the Governments in six provinces where they are in a majority they have by their words, deeds and programme shown more and more that the Musalmans cannot expect any justice or fair-play at their hands. Wherever they are in a majority and wherever it suited them, they refused to co-operate with the Muslim League Parties and demanded unconditional surrender and signing of their pledges.

The demand was insistent: abjure your party and forswear your policy and programme and liquidate Muslim League; but where they found that they had not a majority, like the North-West Frontier Province, their sacred principle of collective responsibility disappeared, and promptly the Congress Party was allowed in that province to coalesce with any other group. That any individual Musalman

member who was willing to unconditionally surrender and sign their pledge was offered a job as a minister and was passed off as a Musalman minister, although he did not command the confidence or the respect of an overwhelming majority of the Musalman representatives in the legislatures. These men are allowed to move about and pass off as Muslim ministers for the "loyal" services they have rendered to the Congress, by surrendering and signing the pledge unconditionally and the degree of their reward is the extent of their perfidy. *Hindi* is to be the national language of all India, and that *Bande Matram* is to be the national song, and is to be forced upon all. The *Congress flag* is to be obeyed and revered by all and sundry. On the very threshold of what little power and responsibility is given, the majority community have clearly shown their hand that Hindustan is for the Hindus ; only the Congress masquerades under the name of nationalism, whereas the Hindu Mahasabha does not mince words. The result of the present Congress Party policy will be, I venture to say, class bitterness, communal war and strengthening of the imperialistic hold as a consequence. I dare say that the British Government will give the Congress a free hand in this direction, and it matters very little to them, nay, on the contrary, it is all to the good, so long as their interests, imperial or otherwise, are not touched and the Defence remains intact, but I feel that a fearful reaction will set in when the Congress has created more and more divisions amongst Indians themselves, and made the united front impossible.

Here it will not be out of place to state that the responsibility of the British Government is no less in the disastrous consequences which may ensue. It has been clearly demonstrated that the Governors and the Governor-General who have been given the powers and special responsibility to safeguard and protect the minorities under the Constitu-

tion which was made so much of by Lord Zetland, the Secretary of State for India, during the controversy of the assurances demanded by the Congress Party, have failed to use them and have thereby been a party to the flagrant breach of the spirit of the Constitution and the instrument of instructions in the matter of appointment of Muslim ministers. On the contrary, they have been a party to passing off men as Muslim ministers by appointing them as such, although they know full well that they do not command the confidence of the Muslim representatives or the public outside. If, in a matter like this, the Governors have shown their utter helplessness and disregard for their sacred obligations which were assumed by the British Government for the protection of minorities, could they or would they be able to afford protection in hundred and one other matters which may not come up to the surface or be known in the day-to-day working of the Legislatures and the administrative machinery? These are very serious and noteworthy signs of the time. The one wholesome lesson that I ask the Musalmans to learn, before it is too late, is that the path before the Musalmans is, therefore, plain. They must realise that the time has come when they should concentrate and devote their energies to self-organisation and full development of their power to the exclusion of every other consideration. I have pointed out before that a section of Musalmans is divided, that there is a group that stands with face turned towards the British. If they have not learnt by now of the bitter consequences they will never learn. God only helps those who help themselves. There is another group which turns towards the Congress, and they do so because they have lost faith in themselves. I want the Musalmans to believe in themselves and take their destiny in their own hands. We want men of faith and resolution who have the courage and determination and who would fight single-handed for their convictions,

though at the moment the whole world may be against them. We must develop power and strength, till the Musalmans are fully organised and have acquired that power and strength which must come from the solidarity and the unity of people.

No settlement with majority community is possible, as no Hindu leader speaking with any authority shows any concern or genuine desire for it. Honourable settlement can only be achieved between equals, and unless the two parties learn to respect and fear each other, there is no solid ground for any settlement. Offers of peace by the weaker party always mean confession of weakness, and an invitation to aggression. Appeals to patriotism, justice and fair-play and for good-will fall flat. It does not require political wisdom to realise that all safeguards and settlements would be a scrap of paper, unless they are backed up by power. Politics means power and not relying only on cries of justice or fair-play or good-will. Look at the nations of the world, and look at what is happening every day. See what has happened to Abyssinia ; look at what is happening to China and Spain and not to say of the tragedy of Palestine to which I shall refer later.

The Congress High Command speaks in different voices. One opinion is that there is no such thing as Hindu-Muslim question, and there is no such thing as Minorties' question in the country. The other high opinion is that if a few crumbs are thrown to the Musalmans in their present disorganised and helpless state, you can manage them. They are sadly mistaken if they think that the Musalmans can be imposed upon. The All-India Muslim League has now come to live, and play its just part in the world of Indian politics, and the sooner it is realised and reckoned with the better it will be for all interests concerned. The third opinion is that there is no light to be seen through the impenetrable darkness ; but as the Congress goes on acquir-

ing strength and power, so the past promises of the blank cheques remain unfilled and unsigned.

I want the Musalmans to ponder over the situation and decide their own fate by having one single, definite, uniform policy which should be loyally followed throughout India. The Congressite Musalmans are making a great mistake when they preach unconditional surrender. It is the height of defeatist mentality to throw ourselves on the mercy and good-will of others and the highest act of perfidy to the Musalman community ; and if that policy is adopted, let me tell you, the community will seal its doom and will cease to play its rightful part in the national life of the country and the Government. Only one thing can save the Musalmans and energise them to regain their lost ground. They must first recapture their own souls and stand by their lofty position and principles which form the basis of their great unity and which bind them in one body-politic. Do not be disturbed by the slogans and the taunts such as are used against the Musalmans,—*communalists, toadies,* and *reactionaries.* The worst *toady* on earth, the most wicked *communalist* to-day amongst Muslims when he surrenders unconditionally to the Congress and abuses his own community becomes the nationalist of nationalists to-morrow ! These terms and words and abuses are intended to create an inferiority complex amongst the Musalmans and to demoralise them ; and are intended to sow discord in their midst and give us a bad name in the world abroad. This is the standard of propaganda which can only be treated with contempt.

The All-India Muslim League certainly and definitely stands to safeguard the rights and interests of the Musalmans and other minorities effectively. That is its basic and cardinal principle. That is the *casus belli.* That is why the Muslim League and those who stand by it have incurred the displeasure of the Congress, for what else are we doing

which the Congress objects to? Congress is doing exactly what we decided two years ago. The League is not going to allow the Musalmans to be exploited either by the British Government or any other party or group inside the legislatures or outside. The Congress with all its boasts has done *nothing in the past* for the Musalmans. It has failed to inspire confidence and to create a sense of security amongst the Musalmans, and other minorities. The Congress attempt under the guise of establishing mass contact with the Musalmans is calculated to divide and weaken and break the Musalmans, and is an effort to detach them from thier accredited leaders. It is a dangerous move, and it cannot mislead anyone. All such manœuvres will not succeed, notwithstanding the various blandishments, catchwords and slogans. The only honest and straightforward course is to give the minorities a fair deal. All talk of the hunger and poverty is intended to lead the people towards socialistic and communistic ideas for which India is far from prepared. The Muslim League in the present conditions considers the policy of direct action as suicidal and futile. Two such attempts have hitherto failed and have entailed untold misery and suffering to the people, and it had to be wound up after two decades of persistent efforts in that direction with the result that a more reactionary Constitution is forced upon the people, and the Congress is working it now.

To ask by a resolution the Governor-General to convey to the Secretary of State for India to call a constituent assembly on the basis of adult franchise is the height of all ignorance. It shows lack of any sense of proportion. A constituent assembly can only be called by a sovereign authority and from the seat of power—a special body of men chosen as the representatives with the authority of the sovereign—to frame such constitution of the Government of the country as they may think proper, and their function ceases and the constitution so framed by them

would automatically take the place and function as the constitution of the Government of the country. Who is to constitute the electorates on the basis of adult franchise, and how many representatives will be chosen by these electorates constituted on the basis of adult franchise, and what will happen to the minorities in such constituencies, and what will the electorates understand, and how will they make their choice of this special body of men with final authority and power to frame the constitution of this great sub-continent? Who will direct the machinery to choose the special body of men with representative authority to frame such constitution as they may think proper? Who will set in motion the machinery? And above all, what will happen to the minorities in such a body? Is the Congress really serious that the Secretary of State is going to carry out all these requirements when, only a few days ago, the representative of the British Government speaking with the highest authority, His Excellency the Viceroy, said that he was full of hope that they might succeed in securing the federation of India in the near future, that when he came out to India he had expressed the hope that the scheme of federation was on the whole one calculated to secure federation within a reasonable time after the inauguration of Provincial autonomy, and that his experience of the last 18 months had confirmed him in that view regarding the establishment of federation within a reasonable time?

Taking the country as a whole, the Congress is still far from occupying the seat of authority, and it is a travesty of realities to think of British Government calling a constituent assembly and for the ability of the Congress to do so is pure moonshine. Let the Congress first bring all principal communities in the country and all principal classes of interest under its leadership. To ask the foreign Government, who is the ruling and sovereign authority in this country, to convene such a body before even the communal problem

has been solved and before all important communities in India have accepted the leadership of the Congress is like putting the cart before the horse, and not to forget that one-third of Indian India stands on very special footing constituting the Indian States and ruling Princes.

Instead of ploughing the sands, let the Congress at least concentrate and see that the all-India Federation scheme embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, which is more reactionary than even the present Central Constitution, is not brought into being, as now it is so emphatically and confidently asserted by those who speak with authority on behalf of the British Government that it is soon going to be inaugurated. What is the Congress going to do? Do they think that they can single-handed as a party prevent it? Or will some other formula be evolved and the Congress quietly accept it as a *fait accompli*, as it has done the provincial Constitution, in spite of all the rantings of some of the foremost leaders of the Congress against it?

May I now turn and refer to the question of Palestine. It has moved the Musalmans all over India most deeply. The whole policy of the British Government has been a betrayal of the Arabs from its very inception. Fullest advantage has been taken of their trusting nature. Great Britain has dishonoured her proclamation to the Arabs which had guaranteed to them complete independence of the Arab homelands, and the formation of an Arab Confederation under the stress of the Great War. After having utilised them, by giving them false promises, they installed themselves as the mandatory power with that infamous Balfour Declaration, which was obviously irreconcilable and incapable of simultaneous execution, and having pursued the policy to find a national home for the Jews Great Britain now proposes to partition Palestine, and the Royal Commission's recommendation completes the tragedy, and if given effect to must necessarily lead to the complete ruination and

destruction of every legitimate aspiration of the Arabs in their homeland; and now we are asked to look at the realities. But who created this situation? It has been the handiwork and brought about sedulously by the British statesmen. The League of Nations has, it seems, and let us hope, not approved of the Royal Commission's scheme and a fresh examination may take place. But is it a real effort intended to give the Arabs their due? May I point out to Great Britain that this question of Palestine, if not fairly and squarely met, boldly and courageously decided, is going to be the turning point in the history of the British Empire. I am sure I am speaking not only of the Musalmans of India but of the world, and all sections of thinking and fair-minded people will agree when I say that Great Britain will be digging its grave if she fails to honour her original proclamation, promises and intentions—pre-war and even post-war—which were so unequivocally expressed to the Arabs and the world at large. I find that a very tense feeling of excitement has been created and the British Government, out of sheer desperation, are resorting to repressive measures and ruthlessly dealing with the public opinion of the Arabs in Palestine. The Muslims of India will stand solidly and will help the Arabs in every way they can in their brave and just struggle that they are carrying on against all odds. May I send a message on behalf of the All-India Muslim League of cheer, courage, and determination in their just cause and struggle which I am sure they will win through.

To the Musalmans of India in every province, in every district, in every tahsil, in every town, I say your foremost duty is to formulate a constructive and ameliorative programme of work for the people's welfare and to devise ways and means of social, economic and political uplift of the Musalmans. We shall not hesitate to co-operate with any party or group in any practical and constructive programme for the welfare and advance of the provinces or the country.

I entreat and implore that every man, woman and child should rally round one common platform and flag of the All-India Muslim League. Enlist yourselves by hundreds and thousands as quickly as you can as members of the All-India Muslim League, Provincial Leagues and District Leagues. Organise yourselves, establish your solidarity and complete unity. Equip yourselves as trained and disciplined soldiers. Create the feeling of *esprit de corps*, and of comradeship amongst yourselves. Work loyally, honestly, and for the cause of your people and your country. No individual or people can achieve anything without industry, suffering and sacrifice. There are forces which may bully you, tyrannise over you and intimidate you, and you may even have to suffer. But it is by going through this crucible of fire of persecution which may be levelled against you, tyranny that may be exercised, the threats and intimidations that may unnerve you, and it is by resisting, by overcoming, by facing these disadvantages, hardships, and by suffering and maintaining your true convictions and loyalty that a nation will emerge worthy of its past glory and history and will live to make the future history greater and more glorious not only of India but in the annals of the world. Eighty millions of Musalmans in India have nothing to fear. They have their destiny in their hands, and as a well-knit, solid, organised, united force can face any danger, and withstand any opposition to its united front and wishes. There is the magic power in your own hands. Take your vital decisions—they may be grave and momentous and far-reaching in their consequences. Think hundred times before you take any decision, but once a decision is taken, stand by it as one man. Be true and loyal, and I feel confident that success is with you.

Speech delivered at the Muslim University Union on 5th February, 1938

" To-day primary Leagues have been established almost in every district, in every town, and every village. They are gathering the precious stones, rubies, sapphires and diamonds, the scattered energies and talents of the Muslim community, and when you have got an artistic jeweller to set them it will be a jewel which you will be proud of." This was the peroration of Mr. M. A. Jinnah's inspiring speech at the Muslim University Union in the Strachey Hall on the 5th February, 1938. Prominent among those present at the meeting were Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, and Sir Zia-ud-Din Ahmad, Vice-Chancellor of the Muslim University, Aligarh.

MUSLIM YOUTH'S SENSIBILITY

Mr. Jinnah on rising to speak was profusely garlanded by the Union Ministry. He began by saying that he did not know how to thank them for their reception. He said: You, Mr. President, have showered praises upon me. But what has really stimulated me is the message of hope you have given me and the spirit of youth you have imparted to me. If you are half as determined to make sacrifice which creates sanction behind us, if you are half as willing to serve first of all Musalmans and then the country as you would have me believe, the future of our community is assured. Let us first learn to look after ourselves and then you will be able to look after others. I want to tell you facts. You, Mr. President, have said, the Muslim is born free. When was he free? In this country at any rate we have been slaves for 150 years. I don't want to dishearten you. I am glad to know that the Muslim youth is prepared

to share senile wisdom and to replace mere shibboleths and slogans by some sense of practical responsibility. I want you to study and think and realise your responsibility.

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES, LUCKNOW PACT AND AFTER

Mr. Jinnah next struck a personal note and recalled the Lucknow Pact with which he had been so closely associated. It was based on a small step forward towards self-government. Since 1924 the Musalmans have not been behind any other in their honest desire for full self-government. It this matter there was no difference. But the basic principle so far both of the Congress policy and the League policy had been that the rights and interests of all the minorities must be safeguarded in any constitution by whomsoever framed. Many efforts had been made since 1924 till the Round Table Conference to settle the Muslim-Hindu question. At that time, said Mr. Jinnah, there was no pride in me and I used to beg from the Congress. I worked so incessantly to bring about a rapprochement that a newspaper remarked that Mr. Jinnah is never tired of Hindu-Muslim unity. But I received the shock of my life at the meetings of the Round Table Conference. In the face of danger the Hindu sentiment, the Hindu mind, the Hindu attitude led me to the conclusion that there was no hope of unity. I felt very pessimistic about my country. The position was most unfortunate. The Musalmans were like the No Man's Land; they were led by either the flunkeys of the British Government or the camp-followers of the Congress. Whenever attempts were made to organise the Muslims, toadies and flunkeys on the one hand and traitors in the Congress camp on the other frustrated the efforts. I began to feel that neither could I help India, nor change the Hindu men-

tality, nor could I make the Musalmans realise their precarious position. I felt so disappointed and so depressed that I decided to settle down in London. Not that I did not love India; but I felt utterly helpless. I kept in touch with India. At the end of four years I found that the Musalmans were in the greatest danger. I made up my mind to come back to India, as I could not do any good from London. Having no sanction behind me I was in the position of a beggar and received the treatment that a beggar deserves.

1935 NEGOTIATIONS AND PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS

Then in 1935 I entered into negotiations with the President of the Congress. A formula was evolved but the Hindus won't look at it. In 1936 I said to the Congress, 'Never mind what was done, stop this bitter controversy over the Communal Award. Good, bad or indifferent, let it stand in the absence of an agreed solution. Let us face the bigger issues.' But when I felt I had exploited every method of bringing about unity I turned round to see what the actual situation demanded. I saw that the new constitution was coming. From 1924 to 1936 it came to this—nothing doing. In sheer desperation I called the session of the All-India Muslim League in April 1936, and the League decided to contest the elections in the provinces. There was opposition from every direction,—from the Congress, from many of our own people. With no primary organisations and with very inadequate resources the League fought the elections and achieved a considerable measure of success. But still in some of our own majority provinces there was no Muslim League party. However, working with determination and perseverance since April, 1936, we have achieved something which is wonderful. (Cheers).

MUSLIM POSITION RECAPITULATED

Let us recapitulate our position. Firstly, there was the bureaucracy; they felt that they had acquired a prescriptive right over the Musalmans. They said, "Well, if this Jinnah fellow comes Muslims will be out of our hands." It has happened so. The Musalmans, thanks God, are to-day out of their hands. But power has now passed to a certain extent into the hands of the majority community. It is now clear that the British Government shows no signs of coming to the help of Muslims but is throwing them to the wolves. I am glad, so far so good. To a very great extent the Muslim League has freed the Musalmans from the clutches of the British Government. But now there is another power which claims to be the successor of the British Government. Call it by whatever name you like, but it is Hindu and Hindu Government.

Political language is woolly and misleading. I shall speak plainly. What is the attitude of the Congress? It may be summed up thus: "The Muslim League is composed of toadies; it is a reactionary body, it is in alliance with the Imperialistic power." That is how they denounce the Muslim League. Well, what has the League done? The League decided with regard to the prevailing conditions that the provincial constitution should be utilised for what it was worth. On the other hand the decision of the Congress was to wreck the Constitution. The Congress did not have patience with the League which had adopted a full-blooded nationalistic programme. We were trying to make the Muslim League completely representative of the Muslim community. I was misrepresented and maligned in the Congress press. I was dubbed a communalist. They said, 'Well, Jinnah may be all right, but he is surrounded by toadies and flunkeys who will swallow him up.' Every time some plausible excuse was made to ignore the Muslims. The

Congress tried to poison the minds of our youth and delude them into the belief that the Congress stood for complete independence and would remove poverty and hunger. But what were really their designs? They wanted certain assurances from the British Government which they failed to get. They are not only utilising but working the very constitution they had so vehemently professed to wreck. To the Muslims they gave all sorts of silly assurances. In one province the Congress Premier went to the extent of declaring that he would lay down his very life if a single brick of a mosque were touched. That sounded very noble. But what actually happened? In that very province, *viz.* Bihar, the cumulative system of voting has been taken away with the result that no Muslim was elected in the last election. We, therefore, cannot depend upon assurances and good-will. In politics good-will and love and affection and regard can only be demonstrated when you are strong. People know how to touch your weak points or, if you like, your strong points. When you are told of this heart-rending hunger and poverty, when somebody comes and tells you, 'Oh! what is the use of anything? Let us remove these appalling conditions. The Congress is struggling to achieve independence and to establish a communistic and socialistic government. The economic issue is the only issue that faces us,' you will be moved. I confess I myself sometimes feel moved. This has been constantly dinned into the ears of the youth. When you think you will be able to destroy the British Government, the zamindars, the capitalists with one stroke, refer to the conditions of Europe. In Germany Hitlerism came into existence because of socialistic and communistic movements. So did Fascism rise in Italy. What is the fight in Spain about? It is the same issue. When the question was put to the President of the Congress as to when he would be able to fulfil this wonderful programme, he said, 'within my lifetime,' and added

'when we have captured power we will destroy this constitution, not by the quill-pen.' But the question is how long will he hold the quill-pen or rather the reed-pen which he is doing at present? (Laughter.)

We in India have been brought up in the traditions of the British Parliamentary democracy. The constitution foisted on us is also modelled more or less on the British pattern. But there is an essential difference between the body-politic of this country and that of Britain. The majority and minority parties in Britain are alterable, their complexion and strength often change. To-day it is a Conservative Government, to-morrow Liberal and the day after Labour. But such is not the case with India. Here we have a permanent Hindu majority and the rest are minorities which cannot within any conceivable period of time hope to become majorities. The majority can afford to assume a non-communal label, but it remains exclusively Hindu in its spirit and action. The only hope for minorities is to organise themselves and secure a definite share in power to safeguard their rights and interests. Without such power no constitution can work successfully in India.

My appeal to you is: Come to the platform of the League. If Muslims are united the settlement will come sooner than you think. You will have established your claim to achieve freedom. After a few months' work the League's name is known in every corner of India. Lakhs of people are joining it. Even those who are against us will realise that they are under a serious delusion and their only course is to join the League and make the Musalmans speak with one voice. (Cheers.)

WHAT MUSLIM LEAGUE HAS DONE

What the League has done is to set you free from the

reactionary elements of Muslims and to create the opinion that those who play their selfish game are traitors. It has certainly freed you from that undesirable element of Maulvis and Maulanas. I am not speaking of Maulvis as a whole class. There are some of them who are as patriotic and sincere as any other; but there is a section of them which is undesirable. Having freed ourselves from the clutches of the British Government, the Congress, the reactionaries and so-called Maulvis, may I appeal to the youth to emancipate our women. This is essential. I do not mean that we are to ape the evils of the West. What I mean is that they must share our life, not only social but also political. (Cheers.)

The personnel of the League is far from being perfect. It is no use making allegations; it is no use telling me this man is bad or that man is undesirable. If you are really in earnest your only course is to join the League and make improvements.

I am convinced and you will agree with me that the Congress policy is to divide the Muslims among themselves. It is the same old tactics of the British Government. They follow the policy of their masters. Don't fall into the trap. This is a moment of life and death for the Musalmans. Take it from me that unless there is unity among the Muslims at any cost they will be lost. If our house is defective we must set it right ourselves. If you support us we will set it right ourselves as we like and desire.

HARNESSING MUSLIM POWER

Mr. President, I have received from you to-day the greatest message of hope. March forward and no power on earth can resist you. I find in front of me the finest recruiting ground. Lakhs are ready to serve the platform and flag of the All-India Muslim League. To make a good, efficient

soldier you at least require a year. To make a good subaltern at least five years are required. I see enormous power latent in these people. The stage has been more easily reached than the stage of harnessing them and mobilising them and making them a political army. What is the difference between the Hindus and the Muslims? If Wardha makes any decision and issues orders to-morrow, millions of Hindus will follow and obey. I ask you, suppose the Muslim League were to issue any order what will happen to it? We are not sufficiently equipped and trained, and therefore it will be difficult to produce lakhs of Muslims to carry out orders. The British Government is always thinking of what the Congress is doing, what is going to be the repercussion of the British policy in the Congress camp. But will the British Government think of you? No; because you are not an organised power. Therefore develop your power and establish your solidarity.

The Muslim League is determined to win freedom but it will be a freedom not only for the strong and the dominant but also for the weak and the suppressed. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Speech on the Criminal Law Amendment Bill in the Legislative Assembly, 23rd August, 1938

MR. M. A. JINNAH (*Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban*): Sir, so much heat has been generated into this debate and so much passion has been imported into it that it is very difficult for one to get up in this electrified atmosphere to reason before this House. But I am obliged at any rate to put the case of my Party for what it is worth. Sir, the more passion and the more heat you bring into this debate, the less room there is for reason and commonsense.

The next observation I should like to make is this,—and

I say this with a certain amount of regret—that the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition should have used the expressions which he did in his speech. Coming from a back-bencher I would not have minded them, and one could understand that, but what was his argument? What were his assertions? They were, sir, more or less of this character,—that any man who is going to support this Bill ought to be ashamed of himself. That is regrettable, coming as it did from the Leader of the Opposition. He said that any man who is going to support this Bill will be selling the freedom of his country and betraying the country's liberty. Then, he wound up with an expression of regret and intimidation which is not worthy of the Leader of the Opposition. He said: "You, the Muslim League, are occupying a position of balance. Probably this is not going to last. There is socn coming a time when that Bench will disappear!" And, then, what does he foreshadow for us—that we should be crushed down, ground down by a brute Hindu majority. Does he think that we shall not have the courage of our conviction and our opinions? Sir, is this democracy? Sir, I deprecate this attitude, I deplore it, and I do ask the Leader of the Opposition to reconsider his position; it is really not worthy of him, and I will not say anything more about the various other insinuations and invectives which he and others of his Party indulged in; but I can assure the House and my Honourable friends of the Congress Party here on the right, with whom we have the misfortune or good fortune to differ on this question—and believe me that I am not actuated by any other consideration except the interests of India. Therefore, let us get back to calm, cool and careful consideration of this matter.

Sir, this Bill has had so much extraneous matter imported into it—it has gone from Peru to Java and China—we have discussed all sorts of things, but let us consider this Bill

dispassionately and let us see whether this Bill, in the present conditions—please remember that—is called for; situated as we are is a factor. I wish we could do something better—do not think that I do not understand the policy which you are standing for—unfortunately, I cannot accept that policy, with the same motives, and give me the same credit as I give you credit for; you honestly believe it that it is good for you, and I honestly believe that it is not good for the country—at any rate let us debate and discuss the motion on the floor of this House calmly, cooly and with careful consideration. Now, sir, the first point that I would like to touch upon before I proceed further is this: Has the Provincial Government of the Punjab the power to enact this measure if they require it for their own province? Now, sir, the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition made his speech and I heard him with great attention, and so did I the speech of the Honourable the Law Member on behalf of the Government. Well, when I heard the Law Member on behalf of the Government I really felt that he expounded the correct position as far as I am able to judge at the present moment. But when the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition argued—he will correct me if I am wrong—he did not take into account entry 42 in Federal List I, and he did not mention that entry at all. Now, if you only mention entry 42 in List I, then, with the utmost respect, the whole of his argument falls on the ground. The position is this. You have got in the Federal List entry No. 1, which has been read to the House and I need not repeat it. Now, if you read entry 1 with entry 42, it seems to me that they cover this Bill. Then we come to List II, the Provincial List, and the only entry that I can find in it is 37 which does not seem, in my judgment, to attract any application so far as this Bill is concerned. Then we come to List III, entry 1. It seems to exclude this Bill because the matters which are excluded

in this List cannot possibly cover this Bill. In fact, it excludes it. May I, with your permission, sir, read entry 1 of this List. It says:

> "Criminal law, including all matters included in the Indian Penal Code at the date of the passing of this Act, but excluding offences against laws with respect to any of the matters specified in List I or List II and excluding the use of His Majesty's naval, military and air forces in aid of the civil power."

There is one or more quotations on this point from section 100 of the Government of India Act which bears on the subject. Sub-section (1) of section 100 of the Government of India Act, which I am going to quote, should be read in conjunction with Lists Nos. I, II, and III. This is what sub-section (1) says:

> "Notwithstanding anything in the two next succeeding sub-sections, the Federal Legislature has, and a Provincial Legislature has not, power to make laws with respect to any of the matters enumerated in List I in the Seventh Schedule to this Act (hereinafter called the 'Federal Legislative List')."

After all, one can only express one's own opinion after reading the various parts of the Act and these Lists. Nothing is certain in this world. I am not committing myself to anything which may, in future, be quoted as a precedent, but as far as I have applied my mind I am satisfied that the Provincial Government cannot enact a measure of this character. If this is so, then the next question which arises is this, that we have got definitely on the statement of the Law Member, on behalf of the Government of India, that the Provincial Governments of India have considered it and have examined the materials, and they have come to the conclusion, concurring with the Punjab Government, that there is a necessity for a measure of this character. Now, I will tell you how my mind

has evolved various points and what has been the reaction from time to time. The first question to which I had to apply my mind was whether there was a necessity for this measure and whether the Legislature should pass a measure of this character. Undoubtedly, it is a measure which *creates* a new offence. Undoubtedly, this Bill proposes to place on the Statute-book an *ad hoc* statute, and we cannot pass it merely because the Government comes before us and says that they want it. When the Honourable Member in charge of the Bill put his case, I can frankly tell you that my reaction at that time was that no case was made out to begin with, and there was no necessity for it. I must say I was very much amazed, but I do not know what the reasons are. I do not know why the case was not put from the very beginning in the manner in which it might have been put. Later on, I pursued the examination of this point and I followed the other speeches and I followed the speech of the Honourable the Home Member with great care. I hope you will forgive me, because I have no desire really to offend anybody, and I do not want to say anything which will hurt anybody's feelings, but you will forgive me when I say that I had not much doubts whether a *prima facie* case was made out by the Honourable the Home Member. But whatever little room there was for doubt in my mind was completely removed by the speeches that followed from these Congress Benches on this side. You have definitely declared —I do not say wrongly or rightly--that you are going to preach and persuade and carry on the agitation to stop the enlistment to the army and to stop the recruitment to the army. You have definitely said that, and not only that but that it is your policy that you are going to instigate acts of mutiny and insubordination in these would-be recruits and those who are in the army.

MR. S. SATYAMURTI (*Madras City: Non-Muhammadan Urban*): Nobody said that.

MR. M. A. JINNAH: I know that the speeches of the Honourable members on the Congress Benches have been very contradictory and have been very conflicting. I am not taking one speech or two speeches but I am taking, if you will pardon me, the net result of all the speeches. One member said that he stands for pacifism. We have got in every country cranks and crooks who stand for pacifism. I forgive him; he is entitled to his opinion. I want nothing but entire pacifism all over the world. There should be no war. There should be peace and plenty all over the world. I have no objection of any kind if all wars are banned. I am not now concerned with those Honourable members who believe in pacifism. For myself, it is not a question of belief in pacifism or not believing in pacifism. I believe in saving my neck if I am in danger. I do not want to hurt anybody. I want to be a very good man, but it does not follow that everybody in this world is good and does not want to hurt me. Therefore, I say that it is really not a question of pacifism or non-pacifism. As practical men are we going to defend ourselves or not? That is the question. I say I am going to defend myself. That is my first point. My Honourable friend, Mr. Satyamurti, has enunciated six points as a condition precedent to accepting this Bill.

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: What about your 21 points?

MR. M. A. JINNAH: Mr. Satyamurti has reduced it to six points and other Honourable members generally have not confined themselves to six points. They asked for more which he did not. I will come to them in proper time. The question really is, first of all, as to the necessity. I do not know whether I am right or wrong, I shall be very sorry to put something in the mouth of Honourable members on those benches which they did not mean, but it is for the House to judge, and, at any rate, to examine

the Bill. Never mind whether I am right or wrong in interpreting the attitude of the Congress Party. The Bill, as I have analysed it, relates to two points and a third point which may or may not occur. The first point is :

" *Wilfully* dissuades or attempts to dissuade the public or any person from entering the Military, Naval or Air forces of His Majesty."

That means really interfering with recruitment. The second part of the Bill is :

" Without dissuading or attempting to dissuade any person from entering such Forces, instigates the public or any person to do, after entering any such Forces, anything which is an offence punishable as mutiny or insubordination........."

Therefore, to put in a nutshell, it is agitation, movement organised or otherwise to interfere with recruits in the army and, secondly, to instigate those who are in the army or who enter the army to commit acts of mutiny or insubordination. These are the only two points in the Bill. Now, I would ask the Honourable members this question : do you want me to send this message—do not forget the present conditions in which we are—to my countrymen and say, do not enlist in the army ? If you enlist, then mutiny : do you want me to instigate every member of the army from the sepoy upwards to an officer, Indian, of course, I am talking—that they should mutiny and that they should commit acts of subordination ? Is this the message that you want me to convey to the army in India in the present conditions in which we are situated ? I am unable to do so. Do you want this message to be sent, do you want this lead to be given to your men—men who will be your better material, superior material because it is only these men who will obey that message or that lead ? What will be the consequence to these men ? Are we merely to send this message and send

this lead from this House or are we going to pursue this message and follow it up with a definite programme against this wicked Government? Are we in a position to do that? Let me tell this House what will be the consequence. I got a letter from an ex-prisoner only three days ago. It is a heart-rending letter. He has described how he was carried away and what his position to-day is, and in what plight he is to-day. I will show that letter to my Honourable friends of the Congress Party if they want. They can verify for themselves. Do you want me to tell these men who are likely to be influenced to run the risk? What will it result in? It will result in blasting the career of some of these men; it will result in ruination of their lives, and if there is a serious revolt it will result in loss of life of these men. Would you be able to break this machine? I am not satisfied that we would do it now or are ready for it. May I, therefore, counsel you, with all the passion at my command, let us find out other channels, other avenues, let us concentrate on something practical and then I think you might achieve your object. I am not afraid of revolution. I think it is the right of every country to revolt. If I instigate the army to-day, it will be only disastrous to me and not to the opponent whom I want to hit. In other words, I do not want to cut my nose in order to spite my face. That is the only reasoning which compels me to take up the attitude that I do. My Honourable friend, Mr. Satyamurti, and other Honourable members were narrating a catalogue of grievances or a catalogue of charges against the Government. This is really not a communal question. I do not wish to give it the slightest communal turn because communalism has really nothing to do with the Bill. It has nothing to do with any particular community. Well, if an argument was necessary, I say there is a tendency amongst Congressmen sometimes to appeal to the Muslims in the name of their religion, sometimes there is a tendency to

coerce them, sometimes there is a tendency of intimidating them. There was manifest in this debate that tendency to influence the Muslim League members. Mr. Gadgil and some other Honourable members brought in the question of Palestine. I entirely agree with them in their points of view with regard to Palestine and Waziristan. At any rate to satisfy you about our *bona fides* I say that we are supporting the principle of the Bill in spite of Palestine and Waziristan. If anything we Muslims have got much greater grievance against this Government than the Congress Party has. We whole-heartedly join you and we feel in the same way as you do for our country. We have, moreover, feelings of sympathy for our co-religionists in other parts of the world. Apart from their being our co-religionists, we feel that the policy which the British Government are pursuing in Palestine and in Waziristan is unjust and brutal. Well, then we have got a much greater grievance. I am not introducing any communal issue at all. I am only arguing in this way that we Muslims have got much more and greater grievances against this Government than you can possibly have. Then what object have we to support this Bill? Because, as somebody says, we feel that it is a lesser evil. It is the inevitability and practicability which force down our hands.

Now, then, with regard to the catalogue of charges. Some Honourable member said, " I will not allow you to pass this Bill unless you agree here and now on the floor of this House to repeal the Government of India Act, 1935, and give me the constitution I want." Another point was,—I will read out those interesting points in Mr. Satyamurti's speech, and there is a great deal that I agree with :

> " First, by amending the Government of India Act and handing our Defence to a responsible minister, responsible for the defence of the country."

That is to be the first gesture in favour of recruitment. Do you not think you are trying to kill a fly on a wheel?

Do you think that by your throwing out this Bill you will make Government give you what you want? Is this a lever strong enough to move this Government? Are you in earnest?

MR. S. SATYAMURTI: Yes.

MR. M. A. JINNAH: By throwing out this Bill only or also encouraging acts of mutiny and insubordination? Surely.

Now let me get on:

> Secondly, you want "withdrawal of British troops as soon as possible from the country completely."

But is this not a contradiction in terms? Of course we want the British troops to be withdrawn from this country. That is the policy we have persistently maintained, and the argument is unanswerable, unassailable, except, of course, that the Government is not willing; and we want the army in this country to be completely Indianised. I have for many years fought for it, with very little success, if any at all. But, at the same time, you say that the best material,—because those who will hear your message will be your best material—should not join the army, and, therefore, in the result the undesirables and the worst mercenaries will join the army. In the same breath you want the army to be Indianised. Is this not a contradiction in terms? I know we are impatient because we have reason to be impatient. But this is not the way to do it; by saying: "Do this or else I will throw out this Bill,"—with what results? I am not in love with this Bill at all and would like to throw it out, but who will suffer for it? That is the question.

Then the next point is this:

> "Thirdly, by frankly and honestly accepting a scheme of Indianisation which will Indianise the ranks within 20 years at the most."

I whole-heartedly support it. I have stood for it, I cannot tell you for how long. And let me tell you that in the

Defence Committee of the first Round Table Conference even on a modest proposal made by me, I found to my regret that there was not a single Indian who supported me. And the proposal was that at any rate in the future the officer ranks should be recruited from amongst the *Indians* only and not Britishers. Even then I do no know how long it would take. One estimate was that it would take 40 years and another estimate was 50 years. But even then it would have taken 40 to 50 years before the officer ranks of the Indian army would have been completely Indianised. That was a proposal for which I fought single-handed, and if you will look up the proceedings you will see that there was not another Indian to support me.

Then the fourth point is this:

"By treating our Indian officers well and encouraging them."

But you are going to instigate them to acts of mutiny and insubordination. The Bill aims at preventing that, and if no one attempts to do that it will remain a dead letter. It was there in 1932 and was repealed in 1935. I do not know what happened to this Government, bad as it is; probably they were in a good frame of mind; they have their own calculations, sometimes correct and sometimes not. Anyhow, they came up in 1935 and repealed that part of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. Therefore, when you say "Treat our officers well and encourage them," that will depend upon ourselves.

"Fifthly, by abolishing the eight-unit scheme and making British and Indian officers equals and allowing Indian officers to command British officers and not keeping them back on racial ground."

I entirely agree. That is not a new point at all. Then:

"Sixthly, by making it clear to His Majesty's Government that Indians will not take part in any war against the interests or the will of India."

On that point I entirely agree. Government say that the Indian army is "primarily and mainly" for the interests of India and for the internal security of India. There is a loophole in this phraseology and I want to go further and say that it should be entirely and solely and only in the interests of India. And if you want to use our army you can only do it in such war or difficulty or trouble as is likely to affect the Indian interests, and in which we would willingly co-operate with you and help you. But I quite agree that there is a loophole under the present constitutional position, and having regard to the right over and control and the vesting of army in the hands which are not reponsible to us, how is that to be cured? As my Honourable friend Mr. Satyamurti said, and somebody else said, the India of 1914 was different from the India of 1938. I am now contemplating a war, having passed through the stage of recruitment and instigation to mutiny and insubordination. Let us see what should or would be done with our army having this Bill as a Statute. And let me tell you that, however dull an Englishman may be, he is not quite so dull as not to realise what is the true force of public opinion in this country, notwithstanding the provisions of this Bill. And, as I said, I again recommend to you, let us try other channels and other methods which are in our hands, which we are neglecting and we are frittering away our energies in small matters. Let that time come—I do not know whether a war is going to break out or not: we have been hearing a lot about it lately, but I do not know whether it will break out—it does not look like breaking out for some time: but, so far as that contingency is concerned, let that contingency arise and then, if we follow the right lines which are available to us, believe me it will be very very difficult for this Government to utilise our army when we do not want it. Why do you say that you will be prevented from taking that attitude if we so decide? What is the obstacle in your way?

This Bill which provides some punishment for a year or whatever it may be,—is that the obstacle in your way? Do you think as practical men, as politicians, that if a war breaks out to-morrow, it is not open to the Government to enact a measure of this character and even worse by ordinance? What will you do then? Will you be frightened then? The only obstacle is only one year's punishment or two years in this Bill.

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: Anticipating the result?

MR. M. A. JINNAH: We have moved an amendment to that effect and this Government cannot carry anything to which we do not agree. But I was only asking as an illustration of the point I wanted to make and it is this: this is for the period of time the third contingency I mentioned: the first period is the recruitment and the second is the instigating of officers and sepoy in the army to acts of insubordination: for that I certainly will not take any responsibility of endorsing it as I have explained; the third stage is this, that if the war breaks out. If I may say so I listened to the speech of my Honourable friend, the Leader of the Nationalist Party, with very great respect and, whether I agree with him or not, he maintained, if I may say so, the dignity and position of a leader. He put his arguments very forcibly: similarly, my friend the Deputy President: he put his arguments and maintained the dignity and position as a leader; and that was the point which was really revolving in my mind. My friend Mr. Aney's point is that this is really done to anticipate a war. Now, at that time, the position will be this. As soon as the last war broke out we had Ordinances, the Defence of India Act and other things, in this country and in every other country. So, when a war breaks out, can you imagine that this Government is going to keep still? Probably they have got these Ordinances already ready in their Secretariat. The danger is there already—one year or two years or it may be five years; but I do not think that

that is going to be an obstacle in the way if we are going to pursue the right lines and, God willing, in spite of ordinances and in spite of the great machinery behind them, I do think we can paralyse them if they do not obey our will...........

MAULVI ABDUR RASHEED CHAUDHURY (*Assam: Muhammadan*): May I know how?

MR. M. A. JINNAH: I will tell you when the time comes. I have exhausted Mr. Satyamurti's six points: now I come back to the Bill. So far as the Bill is concerned, I agree with Mr. Satyamurti that we do not want to hold the baby for the Punjab Government. Whether I am right or wrong in the opinion that the Punjab Legislature has no power to enact this measure, even assuming that I am right, I do not want this Statute to operate in the Punjab or in any province at all, as imposed by the Central Government. Therefore, we considered the matter very carefully and we have given an amendment and I will certainly not support this Bill unless that amendment is accepted, namely..............

MR. D. K. LAHIRI CHAUDHURY (*Bengal Landholders*): It is an agreed amendment.

MR. M. A. JINNAH: No, it is not: if you insinuate and attribute motives I have nothing more to say, but I have insisted upon it. It is no use saying: "Government have agreed." Do you really think that it is better that each province should decide for itself or not? If there is any meaning in provincial autonomy, we are going to pass this baby back to the Punjab Government and we will tell them: "Hold your baby!" If you want this measure, if you think there is a necessity for it, you stand the racket and take the responsibility and face your legislature. Therefore, this is one of the points I have insisted upon. Another point is that no person should be prosecuted without the previous sanction of the Local Government. I do not want this measure to be used for any other purpose—or rather abused;

and, therefore, no person should be prosecuted except with the sanction of the Local Government. The next thing is with regard to the sentence. I think myself it will be sufficient and will serve the purpose we have in view if it is only one year and not more. With regard to clause 2 (*a*) I am *not satisfied with it and* I propose it should be in this form —amendment No. 7 on the supplementary list. That is on the supplementary list No. 2:

"(*a*) with intent to affect adversely the recruitment of persons to serve in the Military, Naval or Air Forces of His Majesty, wilfully dissuades or attempts to dissuade the public or any person from entering any such Forces."

I may say that it is not the last word on the amendment. If any other amendment comes from any other quarter, believe me, I am quite willing to consider and say whether I can agree or not.

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: Thank you.

MR. M. A. JINNAH: But that is a different point altogether. Therefore, *having considered* this from all points of view, I *feel, and* my Party feels, that we shall be doing the *greatest* harm *to* our people under the conditions as they exist to-day—to allow, as it is threatened to do, a movement, an organised movement, an agitation, to stop recruitment, to instigate acts of mutiny and insubordination. Well, sir, I regret I am unable to subscribe to that view, and I hope that one day perhaps my *friends will* realise that I have acted with the same motives they claim for themselves and that I have done a service to the interests of India.

Statement on withdrawal from agreement in Sind, issued from Karachi on 13th October, 1938

On my arrival on the 7th October 1938, it was made clear to me that there was a universal desire for solidarity

and unity among the Muslims in Sind. Wherever I went and whoever came to see me expressed most fervently the desire to bring about unity. I saw various Muslim leaders and no less than 20 Muslim members of the Sind Legislative Assembly and that was the prevalent sentiment not only among the Muslims but also among the thinking men of other communities—Hindus, Parsis and Europeans. They all desired that there should be a stable government in Sind. Here I may at the very outset deprecate the false and discreditable propaganda carried on by a section of the press and the Congressmen that we were aiming at constituting a purely Muslim ministry in Sind. In the first instance we thought of bringing about unity among various Muslim groups in the Assembly as there were at least four such groups among the Muslim members of the Assembly, and once we were able to put our house in order we could approach other groups in the Sind Assembly.

DESIRE FOR UNITY

In response to that universal desire I carried on my conversation with Khan Bahadur Allah Bux who also had come to see me, and his colleague Pir Illahi Bux. He also endorsed the view that there should be one solid united Muslim Party and most cordially assured me that he desired nothing else if that could be achieved and that he did not wish to continue as Chief Minister or cared for any office at all. Similar views were expressed by his colleague, Pir Illahi Bux, and I gathered that there wete about 7 members with the Chief Minister and his colleague.

Thereafter I saw Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and he also expressed the same views and assured me of his full support. His group consisted of about thirteen members. Next I saw Mir Bandeh Ali, the leader of the Baluch group, which consists of about 7 members with the Chief Minister

and his colleagues, and last I saw Mr. G. M. Syed who has a following as I understood of six members. They also expressed the same desire and assured me of their fullest support. Therefore I suggested to each one of them that they should all meet together, and that Mr. Fazlul-Huq and Sir Sikander Hyat Khan with whom they also had interviews should also be present, and accordingly the Bengal and Punjab Premiers and myself met the leaders of all the four groups in the afternoon of October 9, and after prolonged discussion and exchange of views the following agreement was arrived at and signed by Khan Bahadur Allah Bux, Pir Illahi Bux, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Mir Bandeh Ali, Mr. G. M. Syed and Mr. Abdul Majid.

TERMS OF AGREEMENT

The terms of agreement were as follows:

1. It was agreed that one solid party of the Muslim members of the Sind Legislative Assembly should be formed as Muslim League Party, within the legislature, and all the members who join the party will become members of the Muslim League and sign the creed and accept the policy and programme of the Muslim League and would sign the usual pledge of the Muslim League.

2. That in order to facilitate the formation of the new ministry the present Muslim ministers have agreed to tender their resignations and these resignations will be tendered to the Governor simultaneously with the proposal of the leader of the Muslim League Party to constitute a new Ministry.

3. That the meeting of those members who have already joined the Muslim League or who may agree to join the Muslim League Party should take place on October 12, 1938, at 11 a.m. in my room and those members who are not in Karachi at present be requested to come down here—there being already 27 members present in the city.

4. That Khan Bahadur Allah Bux and Sir Ghulam Hussain were to intimate those Muslim members who were not in Karachi already and ask them to attend the meeting fixed for October 12.

5. That the leader of the party should be elected by the unanimous vote of the party and in default he should be nominated by Mr. Jinnah and the party would abide by his choice.

6. The personnel of the Ministry to be formed shall be determined according to the same principle, namely, that the party should accept it unanimously; in default the party should abide by the decision of Mr. Jinnah as to the Muslim personnel of the Ministry that the leader should submit to the Governor.

7. That with regard to the differences of opinion relating to the question of assessment and revision of settlement within the Barrage area the matter be referred to Sir Sikander Hyat Khan to examine the question and advise the party as to the course and attitude that the Muslim League Party should adopt in this regard, and that the proposal will be placed before the meeting of the party on October 12, 1938, namely, that the party would accept the findings and recommendations that may be made by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan.

TELEGRAMS UNDER JOINT SIGNATURES

In accordance with the agreement telegrams were sent to those members who were not in Karachi over the joint signatures of Khan Bahadur Allah Bux and Sir Ghulam Hussain requesting them to attend the meeting fixed for October 12, 1938, in my room.

CONGRESS PARTY'S MOVE

I received information early in the morning from a responsible and reliable source that the "leader of the Congress Assembly Board had wired to the president of the *Congress Parliamentary* Party that in view of the danger of a League Ministry being formed in Sind, the no-confidence motion should be permitted not to be made a party question and freedom of voting be permitted to the members of the party. If this were done, of course all the ten members of the Congress Party would vote against the no-confidence motion. Mr. Vallabhai Patel has sent out telegrams to the members of his board soliciting their views......

"I am aware of the contents of the documents in your possession signed by the six gentlemen on Sunday evening (9th October, 1938) but I thought you might know about this new move. Any attempt to gain time to-day may therefore not be permitted."

PREMIER BACKS OUT OF AGREEMENT

When we met at 11 o'clock on 12th October, 1938, much to the astonishment of every one, Khan Bahadur Allah Bux backed out of the agreement and took an unabashed position that he and his supporters would join the Muslim League Party only if he is assured beforehand that the party will agree to elect him as the leader and allow him to continue as the Chief Minister!

PREMIER HOLDING A PISTOL

An overwhelming majority of the members present in the meeting objected to this attitude on the ground that it was contrary to the very conception of the formation of a party that any individual member of any group should hold

a pistol and impose a condition precedent to joining the party. Every effort was made to persuade Khan Bahadur Allah Bux and 6 or 7 members who were inclined to support him, and finally he left the meeting after several hours of discussion in the meeting and separately by various members who tried unsuccessfully to persuade him to give up such attitude and abide by the agreement which he had already signed. In the meantime those who were inclined to join the Muslim League Party signed the pledges and handed them over to me accepting the creed, policy and programme of the Muslim League. As a result 27 members have come under the banner of the Muslim League. But Khan Bahadur Allah Bux was adamant and left with an ultimatum that unless his condition that he should be accepted as a leader and allowed to continue as Chief Minister is agreed to, he was not prepared to proceed any further. On his taking up this extraordinary attitude some of his own supporters also signed the pledge and remained in the meeting.

GROSS BREACH OF FAITH

Those members who were present at the meeting considered that the attitude of Khan Bahadur Allah Bux was most improper and unjust, and that he was guilty of gross breach of faith in resiling from the agreement which he had already signed in the presence of Sir Sikander, Mr. Fazlul-Haq and myself. Nevertheless without hesitation, as the words of my address to the Sind Provincial Muslim League Conference "unity at any cost" were fresh and ringing in their minds, they showed wonderful spirit of sacrifice and rose to the occasion and agreed to accept even this unreasonable condition in the hope that Khan Bahadur Allah Bux would be prepared to come in and work whole-heartedly under the banner of the Muslim League. But when this decision of twenty-seven members was communi-

cated to him at about 8 p.m. by Sir Abdullah Haroon and others, although he had promised to come to the meeting immediately if his condition was accepted, he replied that he would consider the matter and let us know "to-morrow morning" (13th Oct.)

PLAYING INTO OTHER HANDS

In the meantime it is now public property and the newspaper reports clearly show that Khan Bahadur Allah Bux was in the hands of the Congress Party and was marking time to receive the instructions of the Congress High Command.

I regret to say that he had not even the courtesy to give me his promised reply this morning, although I waited the whole day before issuing this statement.

SACRIFICING PEOPLE'S INTERESTS

One can only draw the inference that he has been assured by the Congress High Command who seem to me to be obsessed with one and the only idea of destroying any effort which will bring solidarity among the Muslims at the sacrifice of not only the vital interests of the country at large but also Sind where it is essential to have a stable ministry for the welfare and the progress of the people; and they do not seem to hesitate to sacrifice all their principles, their interests, their professions and the interests of the people which they claim so loudly to serve.

So far as we are concerned I am glad that we have formed a Muslim League Party in the Assembly and we shall carry out our programme for the social, economic, educational and political uplift of the people of Sind generally and of Musalmans in particular. Our party in the Assembly will always be willing and ready to co-operate with any party

or group notwithstanding the Muslim majority—for the advancement and welfare of the people of Sind, but we cannot accept the position of subordination as Khan Bahadur Allah Bux has chosen to do.

Statement on Muslim League's claim in reply to a statement of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, issued from Karachi, on 20th October, 1938.

To say that the Congress is ready and willing to negotiate a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question with the Muslim League in one breath and in another to say that the Muslim League is not a representative organisation of the Muslims is so transparently ridiculous, and yet the Congress President, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, arrogates to himself, on behalf of the Congress, the right to say that Congress is the one organisation not only able to deliver goods but also to discuss with the British Government a final solution of the Indian problem.

CHARGE AGAINST SUBHAS

Mr. Bose has magnanimously assured the minorities that while refusing to acknowledge the Muslim League as the one representative political organisation of the Muslims the Congress would do what was fair and just towards all minorities. Mr. Bose clearly, consciously or unconsciously, identified himself with the majority community by making such a declaration. I congratulate Mr. Bose for having said that, because that is the honest and true position.

The Congress did not represent Muslims and Congress alone could not deliver the goods. As long as this foolish policy was pursued, India could not advance.

LEAVE IT TO THE EXECUTIVES

As far as the Muslim League was concerned its policy was laid down by the Executive Council at Karachi and he did not wish to enter into any wordy warfare with Mr. Bose in this connection, as the matter now rested with the executives of both organisations. But he must say this much that the absurdities of the position as explained by Mr. Bose on behalf of the Congress are manifest to any man who possesses any intelligence. Mr. Jinnah characterised the interview attributed to Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, suggesting that Sir Sikander held a different view from that of the reply sent by the League's Executive Council to Mr. Bose as absolutely untrue, adding that the League's reply to the Congress was adopted unanimously by the Executive Council, Sir Sikander taking a very prominent part in the wording of the reply.

Mr. Jinnah could not believe that between Karachi and Lahore Sir Sikander should have changed his mind as was attributed to him.

Full text of the Presidential Address delivered extempore at the annual session of the All-India Muslim League held at Patna, on 26—29th December, 1938.

I thank you for the great honour that you, the people of Patna and Bihar, have done me. It is a matter of great satisfaction to me that such a large number of people have come from all parts of Bihar and from all over India to attend this session. I thank them for the trouble they have taken. I also thank those who have taken great pains to make this session a success and who have built this wonderful " pandal " and made all these marvellous arrangements.

Before I come to deal with the problems which are engageing our attention, I must express our joint and deep sorrow at the passing away of Maulana Shaukat Ali. Maulana Shaukat Ali was a great man,—a man who was always ready and willing to make any and every sacrifice for the cause in which he believed. He was a colleague and a personal friend of mine. He never swerved even by an inch from the path he had chosen and served the cause of the Muslim League with unflagging zeal to the very last. It is not only a personal loss but, I am sure, also a national Muslim loss, which is mourned all over India.

Another great figure, a world figure, that has passed away is Mustafa Kamal Ataturk. His death has come as the greatest blow to the Muslim world. He was the foremost figure in the Muslim East. In Iran and Afghanistan, in Egypt and of course in Turkey, he demonstrated to the consternation of the rest of the world that Muslim Nations were coming into their own. In Kamal Ataturk the Islamic world has lost a great hero. With the example of this great man in front of them as an inspiration, will the Muslims of India still remain in quagmire? (Cries of no, no.)

The Muslim League has already deplored the loss of Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal. His death, too, is an irreparable loss to Muslim India. He was a personal friend of mine and composer of the finest poetry in the world. He will live as long as Islam will live. His noble poetry interprets the true aspirations of the Muslims of India. It will remain an inspiration for us and for generations after us.

CONGRESS FALSEHOOD

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I will now refer to the position of the Muslim League. It was only three years ago that we laid down the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League at Bombay. The position at that time was

this: Of the intelligentsia of the Muslims who were in the forefront of what is called political life, most—I do not say *all*—were careerists. They chose their place according to their convenience either in the bureaucratic camp or in the other camp, *that is the* Congress camp. Those who thought that they could better their position by joining the bureaucratic camp joined the same. The others thought that they could get position and power in the Congress camp and joined that camp. Their object was how best to make careers for themselves. So far as the masses were concerned and so far as my dear young friends the Muslim youth were concerned, they were all hypnotised by the Congress falsehood. The youth believe in slogans and catchwords. They were caught right in the net that was spread for them by the Congress. They were led into the belief that the Congress was fighting for the freedom of the motherland. Being honest themselves they could not believe that other people could be otherwise. They were *led to believe that the* question was really an *economic* one and that they were fighting for *dal bhat, for* the labour and the kisans. Their pure, untutored minds became easy victims of the Congress net. When we, who saw through the game and understood the inward meaning of the Congress leaders' move, tried to make them understand that they were being misled, we were dubbed re*actionaries, communalists* and much *else besides.*

That was the position in 1936. I am glad to say that things have now changed. One thing has been demonstrated beyond doubt, namely that the Congress High Command wanted the Musalmans to be a mere understudy of the Congress, mere foot-pages of the Congress leaders, to be used, governed and brought under the heels when they had served the purpose of the Congress. The Congress leaders wanted them to submit unconditionally to the Hindu raj. That game has now been fully exposed. We have got ample proofs of it. The Chairman of the

Reception Committee has some of those proofs in the address. I congratulate him for his most eloquent exposition of the true state of affairs in this country and also of the aims and objects of the Congress.

The Congress has now, you must be aware, killed every hope of Hindu-Muslim settlement in the right royal fashion of Fascism. The Congress does not want any settlement with the Muslims of India. As the Chairman of Reception Committee has said in his address, the Congress wants the Muslims to accept the settlement as a gift from the majority. The Congress High Command makes the preposterous claim that they are entitled to speak on behalf of the whole of India, that they alone are capable of delivering goods. Others are asked to accept the gift as from a mighty sovereign. The Congress High Command declared that they will redress the grievances of the Muslims, and they expect the Muslims to accept the declaration. I want to make it plain to all concerned that we Muslims want no gifts. The Muslims want no concessions. We Muslims of India have made up our minds to have our fullest rights but we shall have them as rights, not as gifts or concessions.

As I have said before, there are four forces at play in this country. Firstly, there is the British Government. Secondly, there are the rulers and people of the Indian States. Thirdly, there are the Hindus and, fourthly, there are Muslims. The Congress Press may clamour as much as it likes, they may bring out their morning, afternoon, evening and night editions, the Congress leaders may cry as much as they like that Congress is a national body. But I say it is not true. The Congress is nothing but a Hindu body. That it is the truth and the Congress leaders know it. The presence of the few Muslims—the few misled and misguided ones and the few who are there with ulterior motives—does not, cannot make it a national body. I challenge anybody to deny that the Congress is mainly a Hindu body. I

ask, does the Congress represent the Muslims? (Voices: no, no.)

I ask, does the Congress represent the Christians? (Voices: no, no.) I ask, does the Congress represent the scheduled castes? (Voices: no, no.) I ask, does the Congress represent the non-Brahmans? (Voices: no, no.)

I say the Congress does not even represent all the Hindus. What about the Hindu Mahasabha? What about the Liberal Federation? The Congress, no doubt, is the largest single party in the country. But it is nothing more than that. It may arrogate to itself whatever titles it likes; the Congress High Command, in the intoxication of power, like persons who are drunk, may make any claims it pleases them to make. But such claims cannot alter the true character of the Congress. It remains what it is—mainly a Hindu body.

CONGRESS DETERMINED TO CRUSH MINORITIES

Such claims might have hoodwinked some people for some time but they cannot hoodwink all the people all the time, and can certainly not hoodwink the Muslims any longer. I am convinced—I think you are also now convinced, and many who are not yet convinced will soon be convinced, and those who are honestly mistaken now, not those who are dishonest in their conviction, will also be convinced, that the Congress is not a national body. It is a misfortune of our country; indeed, it is a tragedy that the High Command of the Congress is determined, absolutely determined, to crush all other communities and cultures in this country and establish Hindu raj. They talk of Swaraj, but they mean only Hindu raj. They talk of national government, but they mean only Hindu government. But the bubble has been pricked too soon. Intoxicated with power gained under the new constitution, with the majority

in six or seven provinces the Congress game has been exposed a little too soon. What did the Congress do when it got the power? With all its pretensions of nationalism, it straightway started with the Bande Matram. It is admitted that Bande Matram is not the national song, yet it is sung as such and thrust upon others. It is sung not only in their own gatherings, but Muslim children in Government and Municipal schools too are compelled to sing it. Muslim children must accept Bande Matram as their national song, no matter whether their religious beliefs permit them to do so or not. It is idolatrous and a hymn of hate against Muslims.

Take the case of the Congress flag. Admittedly it is not the national flag of India, yet that flag must be respected by everyone and hoisted on every Government and public building. It does not matter if the Muslims object to it, the Congress flag must be paraded as the national flag of India and thrust upon the Muslims

Take next the case of Hindi-Hindustani. I need not add to what has already been said on the subject by the Chairman of the Reception Committee. Is there any doubt now in the mind of anyone that the whole scheme of Hindi-Hindustani is intended to stifle and suppress Urdu? (Voices: "no doubt".)

GANDHI'S SCHEME OF H NDU REVIVAL

Take next the Wardha scheme of education. Were the Muslims taken into confidence when the scheme was under preparation? The whole scheme was conceived and its details worked out behind the back of the Muslims. Who is the author of the scheme? Who is the genius behind it? Mr. Gandhi. I have no hesitation in saying that it is Mr. Gandhi who is destroying the ideal with which the Congress was started. He is the one man responsible for turning the Congress into an instrument for the revival of

Hinduism. His ideal is to revive Hindu religion and establish Hindu raj in this country, and he is utilising the Congress to further this object.

INTERFERING WITH MUSLIM LIFE

The reaction of the Muslims to such a scheme of education could not but be what it has been all over the country. You have seen the Pirpur Report and I need not add to what has been described in that document. The position may be summed up in one sentence. To-day Hindu mentality and outlook is being carefully nurtured and Muslims are being forced to accept the Hindu ideals in their daily life. Have Muslims anywhere done anything of the sort? Have they anywhere sought to impose Muslim culture on the Hindus? Yet whenever Muslims have raised the slightest voice of protest against the imposition of Hindu culture on them, they have been branded as communalists and disturbers of peace, and the repressive machinery of the Congress Governments have been set in motion against them. Take the cases that have occurred in Bihar. Who have suffered suppression of culture under the Congress Government? It is the Musalmans. Against whom are the repressive measures taken, prohibitory orders issued and among whom are arrests made? It is the Muslims. I should like to know a single instance, I am prepared to learn and correct myself—a single instance where the Muslim League or Muslim individuals may have tried to force their own culture upon the Hindus in the last eighteen months. (Cries: nowhere.)

MUSLIMS STIRRED

I do not wish to dwell any longer upon this. I have done with it, so far as the Congress is concerned. As regards the

Musalmans I can say that it is a matter of great congratulation to All-India Muslim League that it has succeeded in awakening a remarkable national consciousness among the Muslims. Muslims, as I said before, were like men who had lost their moral, cultural and political consciousness. You have not yet got to the fringe of acquiring that moral, cultural and political consciousness. You have only reached that stage at which there has come awakening —your political consciousness has been stirred.

To-day you find—apart from the fact whether the Congress claims are right or wrong—to-day you find that the Hindus have to a very large degree acquired that essential quality,—moral, cultural and political consciousness, and it has become the national consciousness of the Hindus. This is the force behind them. That is the force I want the Muslims to acquire. When you have acquired that, believe me, I have no doubt in my mind, you will realise what you want. The counting of heads may be a very good thing, but it is not the final arbiter of the destiny of nations. You have yet to develop a national self and national individuality. It is a big task, and as I have told you, you are yet only on the fringe of it. But, I have great hopes of our success. The developments that have already taken place are almost miraculous. I never dreamed we could make this wonderful demonstration which we see to-day. But even then we are only on the fringe of the problem.

PALESTINE

Among the immediate issues we have to grapple with, which may come up before the Subjects Committee, is the question of Palestine. I know how deeply Muslim feelings have been stirred over the issue of Palestine. I know Muslims will not shirk from any sacrifice if required to help the Arabs who are engaged in the fight for their national

freedom. You know the Arabs have been treated shamelessly. Men, who are fighting for the freedom of their country, have been described as gangsters and subjected to all forms of repression. For defending their homelands they are being put down at the point of the bayonet and with the help of martial laws. But no nation, no people who are worth living as a nation, can achieve anything great without making great sacrifices which the Arabs of Palestine are making. All our sympathies are with those valiant martyrs who are fighting the battle of freedom against usurpers. They are being subjected to monstrous injustices which are being propped up by British imperialism with the ulterior motive of placating international Jewry, which commands the money bags. That question we will have to consider.

CONGRESS GAME IN STATES

Another question that will come up for consideration is the situation that is developing in the Indian States. You have heard the Chairman of the Reception Committee on that subject. One point I would like to add to this observation. As you are all aware, we are in fullest sympathy with the aspirations of the States' people. I am convinced, however, as I am convinced about the real objects of the Congress, that the motive of the Congress championing the rights of the States' people is far from what it is made out to be. I would like to put only one question. Why all this agitation in the States? Why are all the forces being let loose in the name of the Arya Samajists and the Hindu Mahasabha in Hyderabad State? I would ask the Congress, what is it doing in Kashmir? The Arya Samajists, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Congress nationalists, as also the press, the subservient press of the Congress, why are they silent about the affairs of the Kashmir State? Is it because

Kashmir is a Hindu State? Is it because the vast majority of the subject people of Kashmir State is Muslim? I have no doubt about the real meaning of the Congress solicitude for the people of the Indian States. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose has said in one of his speeches that the Congress wants to make an alliance with the peoples of the Indian States. May I ask, do they want to make an alliance only with those who are Hindus or also with the Musalmans? According to the present constitution of Muslim League, the League cannot interfere in the affairs of the Indian States. But I want to make it clear that if the Congress pursues its campaign in Muslim States like Hyderabad with the ulterior motive which undoubtedly is inspiring it at present, the Muslim League would have to consider afresh the question of interference with the affairs of Indian States. We cannot leave our Muslim brethren in the Hindu States at the 'tender mercies' of their oppressors and those who wish to exploit them.

CONGRESS CAMOUFLAGE ABOUT FEDERATION

The next question that you will have to consider is that of the Federation. Let the Congress continue to say that they will never accept the Federation. But I tell you I do not at all believe in the professions of the Congress. The Congress will tumble into it just as it tumbled into the Provincial part of the Constitution. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose was loud in his declaration the other day that whatever individual Congressmen might say here and there, the Congress as a whole was determined to reject the Federation, lock, stock and barrel. I do not believe in such declarations. I know another Congress leader has said that revision and modification will satisfy them, and if the elective principle was accepted, it would appease the Congress, and yet another leader declares that if the Federal

scheme could be so altered as to give them the substance of independence, the Congress might work it and in that way the undesirable and unworkable Federal constitution might be made a desirable and workable one. I say the whole idea behind the Congress leaders' move is once again to deceive the Muslims. I want to tell these leaders, however, that they cannot deceive the Muslims any more. The Muslims are not what they were three years ago. The whole game of the Congress is and has been to get a substantial majority in this wretched, highly objectionable and rotten constitution which they want to enjoy. If they get a majority, they will accept the Federation with utmost glee, and then they will be in to pursue their nefarious scheme of destroying the Muslim culture and organisation and to build up the Congress organisation as the one and only totalitarian organisation of the Fascist brand. And then they will be able to establish their ideal of Hindu raj in Hindustan.

CONGRESS INTRIGUES

The Congress leaders know what they are aiming at. They have got their majorities in seven provinces and have Congress Governments there. There are only four provinces left. The covetous eyes of the Congress leaders are now cast upon these provinces. Every now and then they declare that the non-Congress Governments in these provinces are tottering, aye, tottering, in spite of their majorities, struggling on their last legs. The Congress leaders think that in these four provinces the Ministries are not very strong. But it is not difficult to see through the Congress game. They want to see a Congress Government in whichever of these provinces they can. I had a talk with some friends of the North-West Frontier Province. I am told that in that province our co-religionists—credulous

Pathans as they are—have been told that the Congress is for the good of the people, that the Muslim League is the supporter of imperialism and an ally of imperialism! I say there cannot be a greater falsehood than the allegation that the Muslim League is an ally of imperialism. Inside the legislature or outside the legislature, have I on any single occasion supported imperialism, not to speak of proving myself an ally of imperialism? (Voices: no, no.)

I am sure even if there were a few amongst Muslims who had thought in the past that the Muslims might gain their end by alliance with British imperialism, they have now been thoroughly disillusioned. I say the Muslim League is not going to be an ally of anyone, but would be the ally of even the devil if need be in the interests of Muslims.

[A pin-drop silence suddenly appeared to seize the House at this stage.]

Mr. Jinnah paused for a moment and then continued:

It is not because we are in love with imperialism; but in politics one has to play one's game as on the chess-board. I say the Muslims and the Muslim League have only one ally and that ally is the Muslim nation, and one and only one to whom they look for help is God! (Applause).

The Congress game with regard to Federation is very clever. If the Congress can gain the control over the Federal machinery, then, by means of direct and indirect powers vested in the Federal Government, the Congress would be able to reduce to nonentity the Governments of the Hon'ble Mr. Fazl-ul-Haq in Bengal and the Hon'ble Sir Sikander Hyat Khan in the Punjab. So in the end the Congress will have seven provinces where they enjoy overwhelming numerical majority as a gift of God, and the other four provinces where Muslims dominate will be the feudatories of the Congress High Command.

If I am right in my judgment, that is the objective of the Congress. Therefore, I say the Congress opposition to the

Federation is not honest. Am I to blame for it? Am I wrong? (Voices: no, no.)

Ladies and Gentlemen, now it is for you and you alone to make your decision. All the responsibilities will be yours. You are face to face with a life and death struggle. You should not allow your attention to be deflected by small questions. So and so have not been taken in the Working Committee of the League; so and so should not be in the League; such small matters should not divert your attention from the main issues confronting the community. Only this morning some young men came to me and complained about the personnel of the League. They said that certain persons, whose names I need not mention, should not be in the League. To these young men as well as to others I say that the Muslim League is not yet what it should be. I am prepared to admit that there are men who are not true leaders. But the Muslim League is the organisation of all Muslims. It is your organisation. Let me tell my young friends, if they want to purify the Muslim League, if they want to raise the Muslim League to the highest glory, it is no use keeping out and finding faults with it. Come in, and if there is anything wrong with it, put it right. (Applause).

Therefore, I appeal to everyone: Come into the Muslim League, it is your organisation. It is not the property of this man or that man. It is your organisation, and you can make it as you like and what you like. I think I have said all that I had to say. You will forgive me for having made the speech extempore. My health did not permit me writing out my speech. Besides, I have already made so many speeches. The last speech I made was at Karachi only in October last. I expressed my views on that occasion as on other occasions. My views are, therefore, well known.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is a great pleasure for me to see

that a great awakening has taken place among the Muslims. They have grasped the real issues. That is a great beginning. Having made this great beginning, if you now harness your energies and mobilise your forces like a disciplined army, victory will be yours.

Mr. Jinnah then addressed a few words in Urdu. He appealed to them to close up their ranks. He said that when the Congress started the Muslim mass contact campaign they threw out a challenge that the Muslim masses were with them. The Assembly by-elections in the U.P. and the recent one in Hazaribagh in this province had given the proper reply to the Congress challenge. And now the Congress refused even to set up their own candidate in the bye-election to the Central Assembly caused by the death of Maulana Shaukat Ali.

What had happened, he asked, to the Congress Muslim mass contact campaign? He added that the Congress should now give up this contact affair.

Proceeding, Mr. Jinnah said that they were now told that there was no possibility of a settlement, and that the Muslims were to be won over on independent lines. Let us wait and see what those 'independent lines' are.

Concluding, he appealed to the Muslims in the Congress camp to join the Muslim League for their own benefit and the benefit of the entire Muslim community.

Speech on the Finance Bill in the Legislative Assembly on 22nd March, 1939.

Mr. M. A. JINNAH (*Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban*: Sir, I have taken the course of intervening in this debate early, because I want to clarify the position of the Muslim League Party, and I hope that you will give me permission

if I depart, strictly speaking, from the amendment before the House. This is not the only amendment that the House will have to deal with. According to the Bill, we have before us, embodied in the Finance Bill, five items: the salt duty, the excise duty on sugar (the import duty on raw cotton, the inland postage rates, and income-tax and super-tax. Sir, I cannot possibly approve of the Budget as it has been presented to us, because we have no lot or share in it. If I had any lot or share in the budgetary proposals, then I might have, or we might have, constructed the Budget on a different footing. But here we have the entire Budget presented to this House, and now, at present, we are only considering whether you can make amendments to the taxation proposed or for the reduction of taxation. Now, sir, the position of the All-India Muslim League Party in this House is a very peculiar one. Fortunately or unfortunately, we hold the balance in the House. If we are supporting the Government, then I think the Finance Member can safely pilot this Bill to his satisfaction and he can carry this Bill without a comma of it being altered; and he naturally would plead before this House and plead before my Party that we should support it.

Sir, in the past we have been following the principle that if the Government brought in a measure which was really for the good of the people, then we would support it. If it was not in the interests of the people we would oppose it. But, sir, I see now that that policy must be altered. It really means this, that we are reduced to this position. When the Congress is right, "support the Congress." When the Government is right, "support the Government." But when we are right, nobody supports us! Sir, we feel, therefore, and I want to ask the Government—what has been your policy? What has been your attitude? And what have been your actions so far as my Party is concerned? I am glad that the Finance Member in his long speech said,

"Remember Cawnpore, remember Benares, remember Budaun," but I can tell this House that there are many other places in this country where even the elementary rights of Muslims have been trampled upon,—and what have the Government done? I remember reading, sir, not long ago a speech made by Mr. Vallabhai Patel in which he *said:*

"There cannot be any basis for all these allegations, for all these complaints of ill-treatment, injustice, tyranny and persecution. The simple reason is that if there was any such thing, surely the Governor would have intervened."

And I think Mr. Bhulabhai Desai very recently made a speech and he relied upon the same argument, viz, that "if there was an iota of truth in these baseless allegations that we were making, surely the Governors would not have been sitting tight and would have immediately intervened." Therefore, because the Governors *have not* intervened, my Honourable friend is satisfied...........

MR. LALCHAND NAVALRAI: On a point of order: Sir, I would like to know if this speech is germane to the amendment that is before the House?

MR. PRESIDENT (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): *If* the Chair understood the Honourable member correctly, he was going to justify the action of his Party in dealing with this matter on the general political ground.

MR. M. A. JINNAH: That is right.

Instead of making several speeches, I want to lay down in one speech the policy and the attitude of our Party with regard to this Finance Bill. I am rather surprised that the Honourable member should have really interrupted me, because I think it might be admitted that I am one of those members who take the least amount of the time of this House. And I am not in the habit of speaking on every question whether I understand it or I do not understand it.

MR. LALCHAND NAVALRAI: I wanted to understand the legal aspect of the point.

MR. M. A. JINNAH : You have understood it now. I am glad the Honourable member has learnt to-day something.

Sir, I was saying that that is the position,—and now, what about Palestine? What about Waziristan? What about Jaipur? Where is the Paramount Power?

BHAI PARMANAND (*West Punjab: Non-Muhammadan*): Hyderabad also.

MR. M. A. JINNAH: You define the attitude of your Party when your turn comes; I am defining the attitude of my Party. What about Jaipur? Seventeen Muslims were shot down like dogs, and we have information, and we believe that information until it is proved to the contrary, that the fire was opened without any warning and without any justification. Where is the Paramount Power? What is the Paramount Power doing? I am not asking that you should intervene for the purpose of putting pressure upon the Indian States or to force them into undertaking " constitutional reforms, "—but this is a fundamental and basic principle of maintaining civilised administration. Is this fair-play and justice done to the elementary rights of citizens? Sir, I can give instances after instances, but I do not want to waste the time of the House and, besides, this is not the occasion for it. Why do you expect us, I ask the Government, to draw the chestnuts out of the fire on your behalf? Why do you expect us to continue to be subservient on the specious pleas which you put forward before us? We have, therefore, so far as the Government are concerned, made up our mind that we will render no assistance to you so far as this Finance Bill is concerned. You may go on your own way. On the other hand, as regards the Congress Party, I do not want on this occasion to go into details, but I do maintain that the Congress Party is not only hostile to the Muslim League but they are inimical. Therefore, I say to them that co-operation between you and us is not possible. But they will say:

"All right, we are the largest number here." Yes, you may be the largest number ; you may be more advanced ; you may be stronger economically, and you may think that the counting of heads is the final judgment. But let me tell you—and I tell both of you—that you alone or this organisation alone or both combined will never succeed in destroying our souls. You will never be able to destroy that culture which we have inherited, the Islamic culture, and that spirit will live, is going to live and has lived. You may overpower us ; you may oppress us ; and you can do your worst. But we have come to the conclusion and we have now made a grim resolve that we shall go down, if we have to go down, fighting. Therefore, the position is this. I make this protest as a first step,—a solemn protest, a declaration on the floor of the House as to what our attitude is with regard to this Finance Bill. Our hearts are singed and burnt ; our blood is boiling ; we shall suffer and we shall go through fire. The attitude that we are going to take is this. We are not going to move any amendment. Do what you like with your Bill. We are not going to support any amendment moved by the Congress Party or any other Party. Possibly, the result of it would be that the Government will be defeated and the Congress will win, because, I know, they have got a sufficient majority if we remain neutral as we are going to remain neutral. But I tell my Congress friends that your victory will not go beyond the little room called the lobby. If you have any sense of satisfaction in having won, you may have it. Your true victory and your real victory will be when you will stretch your hand across and remove the barrier between this Party and that Party. Therefore, we have definitely decided not to vote for any of the amendments by whomsoever moved. We are not going to support the Government, because the British Government has failed even to secure us our elementary rights of citizenship, and those special powers

which were assumed under the guise of the Governors and the Governor-General being the protectors and the trustees of minorities have proved to be a fraud, worse than a fraud. I myself, therefore, do not wish to take any further part in this debate. But it is open to the members of my Party that they can freely express their opinion as to the merits of the amendments for the purpose of enlightening the Finance Member of the Government of India. As far as the Finance Bill is concerned, it is his and of the Congress Party. You take the responsibility and do what you like with it.

Speech at the annual dinner of the Old Boys Association of the Osmania University, on 28th September, 1939.

I did not expect that, even at this festive board where a galaxy of intellects have assembled, I would be involved in discussing political problems confronting India. But as reference has been made to the matter, I must assure you that I yield to none in the determination to safeguard the interests of my country, nor would I yield to anybody in striving for the attainment of freedom for my country.

I am essentially a practical man ; I have been in practical politics for over a quarter of a century. The words 'nationalism' and 'nationalist' have undergone many changes in their definition and significance. Some people have a dictionary of their own, but within the honest meaning of the term I still remain a nationalist.

I have always believed in a Hindu-Muslim pact. But such a pact can only be an honourable one and not a pact which will mean the destruction of one and the survival of the other. The Congress High Command, unfortunately, are not prepared to grasp the hand of friendship, but would like to destroy the very hand which offered friendship. One does

not see much light at present but you never can say when the two communities would unite. We have a recent example of the German-Soviet pact between two nations which were the bitterest of enemies.

I say to every Musalman that Islam expects you, one and all, to do your duty and stand by your people as one nation.

Message to the Muslim Youth of India, in response to a request from the Vice-President, Muslim University Union, Aligarh.

Stand solidly with complete unity by the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League which is the only organisation that can speak on behalf of the Musalmans of India.

Muslim League, as you know, stands for complete freedom of India, not for one community only but for all the peoples composing this great sub-continent ; and stand for free and independent Islam.

Islam expects every Muslim to do his duty to his people, and no service or sacrifice should be too great on the part of anyone of us at this most critical time in the history of India in order to establish and maintain an honourable place worthy of our traditions and past heritage, specially now that we are facing this terrible war and a dangerous and grave international situation which is bound to create a new order of things all over the world.

I am confident that young Muslim India, upon whom will fall the main burden of helping and guiding the future destiny of ninety millions of Musalmans, will not fail them, but would be unhesitatingly prepared for any service or sacrifice, when called upon to do so.

Statement on Lord Zetland's Speech in the House of Lord dated 1st October, 1939

My attention has been drawn to Lord Zetland's speech in the House of Lords, also to the statement by Mr. Gandhi appealing to British statesmen, as a 'friend' of Britain. I regret to say that Mr. Gandhi, who is the sole interpreter and dictator of the Congress, has couched his statement in a language which once more creates the impression that the Congress is suffering, in the first instance, from inability to face realities and is obsessed that it alone represents India. Secondly, that while it is championing the cause of democracy in India and desires to do away with the democratic Imperialism of Great Britain, it has in the last two and a half years not only declared itself as a fascist and authoritarian body but has actually translated this principle into actual practice. And, thirdly, that it is reviving throughout India the Hindu renaissance and domination and supremacy of Hinduism over the entire sub-continent. Unless the High Command of the Congress are thoroughly cured of the maladies, they will not be able to advance the progress of India which we all have at heart.

As regards Lord Zetland's speech, I would prefer to wait until I have had my interview with his Excellency the Viceroy before I express my opinion.

Statement on the question of Democracy in India

I am obliged to the *Manchester Guardian* for the courtsey shown to me in giving me an opportunity to place my view briefly before the British public. It is difficult to make an average Englishman understand fully the position, which is facing us Muslims to-day. But I shall mention a few salient

points which will give some idea of the difficulties that are confronting us.

The Muslims have always had their fears and apprehensions of even a representative form of government, and far more of democracy in its strict application to India. Since the time of the Minto-Morley reforms of 1903 and the historical Luknow Pact between Hindus and Muslims in 1916, their insistence on separate electorates, weightage and statutory safeguards have been a clear indication of those fears. But, since the inauguration of the new provincial constitutions, it has been established beyond doubt, particularly by the way in which the Congress High Command has pursued its policies and programmes, that the sole aim and object of the Congress is to annihilate every other organisation in the country, and to set itself up as a fascist and authoritarian organisation of the worst type.

Having regard to the 35 millions of voters, the bulk of whom are totally ignorant, illiterate and untutored, living in centuries-old superstitions of the worst type, thoroughly antagonistic to each other, culturally and socially, the working of this constitution has clearly brought out that it is impossible to work a democratic parliamentary government in India. It has definitely resulted in a permanent communal majority Government ruling over minorities, exercising its powers and functions and utilising the machinery of Government to establish the domination and supremacy of the majority communal rule over the minorities.

HINDU RAJ

Therefore, in my judgment, apart from other reasons into which I need not go in detail, democracy can only mean Hindu raj all over India. This is a position to which Muslims will never submit. Besides, there are 60 million untouchables and other minorities, such as six million

Christians, Jews, Parsis and the Domiciled British. Therefore, the Muslim League, after very careful consideration, has come to the conclusion that the entire problem of India's future constitution must be considered *de novo* ; and that no declaration or commitment should be made by his Majesty's Government *without* the approval and consent of the Muslim League which is the only authoritative and representative organisation of the Muslims of India.

The British public may be misled by certain propaganda that the Muslims are against the freedom of India. We want freedom and liberty, but the question is, whose freedom and liberty ? Muslim India wants to be free and enjoy liberty to the fullest extent and develop its own political, economic, social and cultural institutions according to its own genius, and not to be dominated and crushed, while wishing Hindu India well and giving it fullest scope to do likewise.

I know that the Englishman who has developed in his own country a system of parliamentary government cannot think of anything else but what has worked and been developed through the centuries as the only pattern for every other country in the world. But he must dismiss from his mind the experiments tried in Canada and Australia, where after all the foundations of government are suited to the genius of the people, mainly British in stock.

It is very doubtful as to how it will work in South Africa where there are two powerful rival communities like the Boers and the British, and even here the differences between them are not so fundamental as between Hindus and Muslims. Even Ireland, after decades of union, did not submit to the British Parliament in spite of the close affinity with the English and the Scot. I may refer to Lord Morley's dictum that the fur coat of Canada would not do for the extremely tropical climate of India !

CONGRESS FASCISM

The Congress insistence that they, and they alone, represent the peoples of India is not only without any foundation but is highly detrimental to the progress and advancement of India. They know that they do not represent the whole of India—not even all the Hindus, and certainly not the Muslims, who are often wrongly described as a minority in the ordinary sense as understood in the West. They are in a majority in the North-West and in Bengal, all along the corridor stretching from Karachi to Calcutta. That part of the Indian continent alone has double the population of Great Britain and is more than 10 times in area. Until the Congress come down to earth and face realities, they will be wholly responsible for blocking the progress of India, and unless they give up the fascist and authoritarian basis of their policy and programme which they are vigorously following, there cannot be any peace in India.

Mr. Jinnah was next asked for his views regarding certain schemes put forward by Muslim League leaders like Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and his proposal for coalition Ministries in the provinces, representing the Congress and the Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah said: " There are many proposals and schemes and importance is attached to these schemes, particularly to the one suggested by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan in view of the position he holds in the League and as the Premier of the Punjab.

Although his proposals may create an impression that they have emanated indirectly from the Muslim League, I want to make it clear that League is not responsible for any of them directly or indirectly. As a matter of fact, we have appointed a sub-committee to examine the whole question thoroughly and when this sub-committee has made its report it will be examined by the Working Committee of the League in order to take such steps as it may think proper.

Until that stage has been reached, the Muslim League feels in no way bound by any schemes or proposals that are propounded by various people.

Reply to Mr. Gandhi's article on Hindu-Muslim unity, published in the "Harijan"

I have carefully read the article of Mr. Gandhi on Hindu-Muslim unity reproduced from the *Harijan* in the local papers of this morning. It has shocked me that the accusation for which there is not the slightest foundation should have been broadcast in an article penned by Mr. Gandhi. He could not have said anything worse about me or about the Musalmans of India at this juncture.

Mr. Gandhi says, " Janab Jinnah Sahib looks to the British power to safeguard the Muslim rights. Nothing that the Congress can do or concede *will satisfy him ; for he can* always and *naturally* from his own standpoint, ask far more than *the British can give or guarantee*. Therefore, there can be no limit to the Muslim League demands."

This is far from the truth and is a libel on the whole Muslim community of India of which a person in the position of Mr. Gandhi should not have been guilty. Mr. *Gandhi further* says that the Congress does not represent the Musalmans and one would like to know then whom it actually represents.

Mr. Gandhi further says that the Congress had never represented the Hindus as such. That function is claimed by the Hindu Mahasabha. I have made it abundantly clear on more than one occasion and it has been proved to demonstration that the Congress is a Hindu body. It is the same coin with a stamp on one side of the Hindu Mahasabha and on the other that of the Congress, and what one

speaks out openly the other practises. I assure Mr. Gandhi that the Musalmans of India depend upon their own inherent strength. We are determined to fight and fight to the last ditch for rights to which we are entitled in spite of the British or the Congress. We do not depend upon anybody.—*Statesman*, 6th November, 1939.

Statement on the Congress proposal of arbitration, dated 9th November, 1939

What can one think of the responsible leaders of the Congress including Mr. Gandhi? Mr. Gandhi, in his article in the *Harijan*, dated October 21, starts by stating that in my reply to the Congress President Dr. Rajendra Prasad's letter which offered to refer the Congress-League question to an arbitration tribunal, I said that I had already placed the whole case before his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General. Mr. Gandhi said, 'it is unfortunate that he has rejected Rajendra Babu's proposal.' Is it a rejection of the hand of friendship?

I ask any intelligent man to judge for himself whether it was an offer to refer the Congress-League question to arbitration. In some other quarters it is said that the hand of friendship which was offered in that letter had been rejected. Let us examine the whole position.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad in his letter said that he would get the Congress Working Committee to pass a resolution to appoint Sir Maurice Gwyer or some other person to investigate only such specific charges which we formulate against the Ministries of the Congress-governed Provinces.

The first question arises as to what is the authority of the Working Committee, legal or constitutional. Allegations are against the Ministries of certain provinces which are

responsible to their legislatures and to the electorates of their respective provinces. It is true that the Congress Working Committee is a 'Fascist Grand Council' and the Congress Ministries have been reduced to a position of being merely their creatures. But we cannot acquiesce in that position. The party accused are not only the Ministries but also the Congress Working Committee, whose *ukase* is carried out by the Ministries.

Now let us see how the President of the Congress begins his offer. He starts by saying that our allegations and charges are without any foundation whatsoever. So the accused has already passed his judgment and given his decision! But after that he proceeds that he will get the Congress Working Committee to pass a resolution to appoint an impartial and independent tribunal if we specify our charges. So, they have already decided the terms of reference and the scope and authority of the tribunal.

Then, again, what power can they confer upon the tribunal to summon witnesses, to take evidence on oath and call for the production of documents that might be required? Furthermore, to whom would this independent and impartial tribunal make its report for any action to be taken in the light of its findings? I suppose, to the Congress Working Committee, the accused,—who will be the judge finally as to what action, if any, is to be taken against the Ministries concerned!

It is a mentality which has gone beyond any sense of responsibility. The whole thing would be a travesty of justice.

Speech broadcast on Id Day, 13th November, 1939

We, of the older generation, have had our trials, but I wish to forget them to-night in the company of my friends parti-

cularly the young, and to touch, if I may, the fresher springs of inspiration in their hearts, for it is they who will henceforth have to bear the burden of our aspirations.

The discipline of the Ramzan fast and prayer will culminate to-day in an immortal meekness of heart before God, but it shall not be the meekness of a weak heart, and they who would think so are doing wrong both to God and to the Prophet, for it is the outstanding paradox of all religions that the humble shall be the strong and it is of particular significance in the case of Islam, for Islam, as you all know, really means action.

This discipline of Ramzan was designed by our Prophet to give us the necessary strength for action. And action implies society of man. When our Prophet preached action he did not have in mind only the solitary life of a single human being, the deed he accomplishes only within *himself*, the prayer and all it involves *spiritually*.

According to the Holy Quran a very real connection exists between *prayer* and *life*. You will remember how many and wonderful are the opportunities given to us to meet our fellow beings, to study them, to understand them, and through understanding serve them and you will notice that all these opportunities have been created by laying down the law for prayers.

Five times during the day we have to collect in the mosque of our mohalla, then *every week on Friday we* have to gather in the Juma mosque; then again twice a year we have to congregate in the biggest mosque or *maidan* outside the town on the Id day, and lastly there is the Hajj to which Muslims from all parts of the world journey, once at least in their life-time, to commune with God in the House of God. You will have noticed that this plan of our prayers must necessarily bring us into contact not only with other Muslims but also with the members of all communities whom we must encounter on our way. I don't

think that these injunctions about our prayers could have been merely a happy accident. I am convinced that they were designed thus to afford men opportunities of fulfilling their social instincts.

Man has indeed been called God's caliph in the Quran and if that description of man is to be of any significance it imposes upon us a duty to follow the Quran, to behave towards others as God behaves towards His mankind. In the widest sense of the word, this duty is the duty to love and to forbear. And this, believe me, is not a negative duty but a positive one.

If we have any faith in love and toleration towards God's children, to whatever community they may belong, we must act upon that faith in the daily round of our simple duties and unobstrusive pieties. On this day of Id, there will be no more worthy manifestation of the spirit that is kindled in us through fast and prayer than to resolve to bring about a complete harmony within our household, within our community and within our country with all its variety of religions and creeds and to work, whether in private life or public, for no selfish ends but for the greater good of all our countrymen and finally of all human beings.

It is a great ideal and it will demand effort and sacrifice. Not seldom will your minds be assailed by doubts. There will be conflicts not only material which you perhaps will be able to resolve with courage, but spiritual also. We shall have to face them, and if to-day, when our hearts are humble, we do not imbibe that higher courage to do so, we never shall. All our leaders both Muslim and Hindu continue to be pained at communal strifes. I shall not enter into the history of their causes but there will arise moments when the minds of men will be worked up and when differences will assume the character of a conflict. It is at such moments that I shall ask you to remember your Id prayer and to reflect for a while if we could not avoid them

in the light of the guidance given to us by our Quran and that mighty spirit which is Islam. I would ask you to remember in these moments that no injunction is considered by our Holy Prophet more imperative or more divinely binding than the devout but supreme realisation of our duty of love and toleration towards all other human beings.

All social regeneration and political freedom must finally depend on something that has a deeper meaning in life. And that, if you will allow me to say so, is Islam and Islamic spirit. It is not great speeches and big conferences only that make politics. Several young men have been coming to me to know how they could serve their country.

Well, young friends, if I touch upon politics to-night it is only to tell you, as a word of advice, that we have our rights and our claims in a future India. But we shall not be obstinate about them, for obstinacy will be the negation of that spirit of love and toleration which should fall upon us on this Id day and whose blessings the Prophet commands us to communicate to others. But each one of us can serve our country by disciplining himself and discipline is the essence of this holy period.

Is one regular in one's habits? Does one sleep at the proper time? Does one keep to the left of the road or abstain from throwing litter on the road? Is one honest and sincere in one's work? Does one render such help as one can to others? Is one tolerant? These may seem small matters but in them is the nucleus of a self discipline which will be of immense value in the combined efforts of all communities and all creeds towards a greater India. This will be a service to our country which may not bring you into the limelight of politics but it will assure you a lasting peace in your hearts in the knowledge that you have contributed your share to making the politicians' task easier.

I am coming to the end of my brief talk. As I do so, I remember John Morley's book on "Compromise." I usually

dislike recommending books to young people, but I think you all ought to read that book not only once but over and over again. There is a good chapter in it on the limits of compromise, and the lesson it teaches regarding the pursuit of truth and the limitations on our actions in practice are worth pondering over.

In the pursuit of truth and the cultivation of beliefs we should be guided by our rational interpretation of the Quran and if our devotion to truth is single-minded, we shall, in our own measure, achieve our goal. In the translation of this truth into practice, however, we shall be content with so much, and so much only, as we can achieve without encroaching on the rights of others, while at the same time not ceasing our efforts always to achieve more.

Finally, I would urge you never to forget that "Islam expects every Muslim to do his duty by his people."

Appeal for the observance of Deliverance Day, issued from Bombay, on 2nd December, 1939

I wish the Musalmans all over India to observe Friday, the 22nd December as the "Day of Deliverance" and thanksgiving as a mark of relief that the Congress regime has at last ceased to function. I hope that the provincial, district and primary Muslim Leagues all over India will hold public meetings and pass the following resolution with such modification as they may be advised, and after Juma prayers offer prayers by way of thanksgiving for being delivered from the unjust Congress regime. I trust that all public meetings will be conducted in an orderly manner and with all due sense of humility, and nothing should be done which will cause offence to any other community, because it is the High Command of the Congress that is primarily

responsible for the wrongs that have been done to the Musalmans and other minorities.

RESOLUTION : " This public meeting of the Musalmans of (*name of the place*) records its opinion that the Congress Ministry has conclusively demonstrated and proved the falsehood of the Congress claim that it represents all interests justly and fairly, by its decidedly anti-Muslim policy. It is the considered opinion of this meeting that the Congress Ministry has failed to safeguard the rights and interests of the Musalmans and other minorities and interests.

" That the Congress Ministry both in the discharge of their duties of the administration and in the legislatures have done their best to flout the Muslim opinion, to destroy Muslim culture, and have interfered with their religious and social life, and trampled upon their economic and political rights; that in matters of differences and disputes the Congress Ministry invariably have sided with, supported and advanced the cause of the Hindus in total disregard and to the prejudice of the Muslim interests.

" The Congress Governments constantly interfered with the legitimate and routine duties of district officers even in petty matters to the serious detriment of the Musalmans, and thereby created an atmosphere which spread the belief amongst the Hindu public that there was established a Hindu raj, and emboldened the Hindus, mostly Congressmen, to ill-treat Muslims at various places and interfere with their elementary rights of freedom. This meeting, therefore, expresses its deep sense of relief at the termination of the Congress regime in various provinces and rejoices in observing this day as the " Day of Deliverance " from tryanny, oppression and injustice during the last two and a half years, and prays to God to grant such strength, discipline and organisation to Muslim India as to successfully prevent the advent of such a ministry again and to establish a truly

popular ministry which would do even justice to all communities and interests.

"This meeting urges upon his Excellency the Governor of (*name of the province*) and his Council of Advisers to enquire into the legitimate grievances of the Musalmans and the wrongs done to them by the outgoing Congress Ministry, and redress the same at the earliest moment in accordance with the announcements that have been made by the Governors in taking over the Government of various provinces under Section 93 of the Governments of India Act of 1935 and thus assure people that the new regime stands for even justice to all communities and intrests concerned."

Statement to the Press on "Deliverance Day"

A great deal of unnecessary controversy has arisen over my appeal to Muslims to celebrate December 22 as a day of deliverance from oppression and, since the guilty do not admit their guilt and public memory is short, I consider it advisable to briefly trace the events that led to the reasons that prompted this appeal.

To commence with, the suggested resolution says nothing more or less than has been said on many previous occasions. The very first complaint against Congress rule was made by me very shortly after they took office and, in my speech at the Lucknow session of the Muslim League, 1937, I complained against the compulsory singing of Bande Mataram, the question of the Congress flag and the the supplanting of Urdu by Hindi and even then I called upon the Governors to exercise their special powers.

From then onwards the Congress caucus, like the proverbial steam-roller, gathered speed and complaints of oppression began to pour into the central office. These became so

numerous that the Council decided to appoint, in March 1938, the Pirpur Committee which, after an elaborate and painstaking investigation over all the Congress provinces, submitted its report at the Patna session in December 1938.

The following resolution was there passed at a full session :—

"That having regard to the atrocities that have been committed and that elementary rights of the Muslims have been trampled upon in a systematic manner in Bihar, U. P. and C. P. and that the Governors of these provinces have failed to redress their grievances or protect even the elementary rights of the Musalmans in these provinces in spite of all constitutional methods adopted so far by the Muslims, this session of the All-India Muslim League is, therefore, of opinion that the time has now come to authorise the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League to decide and resort to 'Direct Action' if and when necessary."

During this time, in order to prevent direct action being resorted to, I was repeatedly urging upon Governors and the Governor-General, in person and by correspondence, to exercise their special powers and to take executive action to safeguard the rights and interests of the minorities placed by the Constitution under their protection, and it was only on the 17th April 1939 that the Viceroy intimated that he would take up the matter.

As regards the Congress Ministries, our complaints were dismissed as false, frivolous and vexatious, and even Mr. Gandhi, before whom I placed our charges as far back as May 1938, side-tracked the question by writing : "I believe Congress Committees have been advised to avoid as far as possible all occasions of friction over Bande Mataram and the flag......... The first two demands have come upon an unexpecting public. Nevertheless they undoubtedly have to be examined on their merits, but it does not appear to me to be fair to anticipate the result of the joint

committees which I hope will come into being without any hitch..."

With no redress, Muslims in certain provinces grew restive and, in the C. P., ignoring the Working Committee altogether, resorted to direct action over the Vidya Mandir scheme.

I may state hete that at no stage did the Working Committee favour or encourage direct action and on request being received from Bihar, in July 1939, for permission to launch direct action, the Working Committee instructed the Bihar Muslim League to place the whole case before the Governor-General, the Governor and the Prime Minister and to report later the result of their representation. Similar advice was given to the other Muslim Leagues who contemplated similar measures.

Complaints, however, continued to pour in and on the 27th August 1939, the Council of the League at Delhi passed the following resolution :—

(*a*) Resolved that this Council, while deploring the policy of the British Government towards the Muslims of India by attempting to force upon them against their will a constitution and in particular the Federal Scheme, as embodied in the Government of India Act 1935, which allows a permanent hostile communal majority to trample upon our religious, political, social and economic rights, and the utter neglect and indifference shown by the Viceroy and the Governors in the Congress-governed Provinces in exercising their special powers to protect and secure justice to the minorities ...."

In September, war was declared and on the 17th of that month, the Working Committee reaffirmed the above resolution as one of the fundamental conditions of Muslim support and the Viceroy, realising the gravity of the situation, pressed Mr. Gandhi and the Congress leaders to come to an agreement with the Muslim League in the provincial

sphere on a coalition basis for at least the duration of the war.

Consequently Babu Rajendra Prasad wrote on the 5th October that the Congress was prepared to request Sir Maurice Gwyer or some other suitable person to investigate only any specific charges which the Muslim League might formulate against the Ministries of the Congress-governed Provinces.

I considered this proposal unsound and unpractical for the following reasons. First, legally and constitutionally, the Congress Working Committee has no place or power in the Constitution. Secondly, the complaints of the Muslims and other minorities were directed against the governments of certain provinces who were responsible to the legislatures and the electorates and not to the Working Committee. Thirdly, the proposed resolution of the Working Committee could not confer upon the contemplated tribunal the necessary power to summon witnesses and administer oaths. Nor could the tribunal compel the production of documents that might be required and finally I wished to know to whom the tribunal was to report and who would be the final authority to take action, if any, against the ministries.

If this final authority was the Working Committee, I pointed out that, in my opinion, it was the Working Committee itself that was primarily responsible for the injustices and the wrongs committed and I also could not believe that any adequate action would be taken against the ministries in view of the fact that the Working Committee had already decided that the Muslim League's charges were false and unfounded.

I also informed Babu Rajendra Prasad that I had already placed the whole matter before the Governor-General and had requested him to take executive action without delay to safeguard and to secure justice for the minorities.

I must explain, at this stage, that I have never asked either the Governor-General or the Governors to act as a judicial tribunal as is suggested in Mr. Gandhi's appeal to me. What I asked them to do was to take executive action to redress our grievances and, by intervention, to secure justice and fair-play.

Mr. Gandhi's appeal to me to await the Viceroy's opinion is, therefore, based on a wrong assumption and even intervention is not possible now that the Congress ministries have resigned. For what then should I wait?

However, just after my letter to Babu Rajendra Prasad the Congress ministries resigned to the very natural relief of Muslims and other minorities, and I immediately decided to appeal for the observance of a day to express our relief and to show its intensity in a manner that would force ears that had hitherto been deaf to listen to us. I might point out that if our appeals had been heard at the proper time, no such action on our part would now be necessary.

This appeal has been variously described as ill-timed, provocative and anti-national and that the Muslims are asked to gloat over the departure of an elected government and to welcome an official administration.

I gladly deal with these points. As regards the time, my appeal could not appear before it did for reasons already made public, and its connection or effect on Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's visit is dealt with by me at the end of my statement.

As regards provocation, let me point out the words of my appeal: "I trust that all public meetings will be conducted in an orderly manner, with due sense of humility and nothing should be done which will cause offence to any community————." However, to make quite clear my insistence that the day is observed in such spirit, I again state that I look to all district and primary Leagues to ensure that the meetings are held in that spirit. Let there

be no hartals, processions or any such demonstrations, but let a spirit of humility and a mood of reflection prevail. There is relief and gratitude in our hearts; not joy or triumph.

Thirdly, it is extremely unfair and unjust to contend that the Muslims welcome the present administration. It is true that we urge upon them, to inquire into our grievances and to redress them, but this is only because it is in their power to do so. On the other hand, my appeal emphasises that prayers should be offered for the establishment of truly popular ministries which would do even justice to all communities and interests.

But there is one statement on my appeal that I cannot let pass coming as it does from such an authoritative source as the chairman of the Congress Parliamentary Committee. I am told that all our charges are totally false and unwarranted, and that was to be expected, but I must take notice of his declaration :—

"Furthermore, every Premier at my instance had invited his Governor unhesitatingly to intervene in matters affecting the rights and the interests of the minorities whenever the Governor felt that the action of the ministry was not correct. When Mr. Jinnah recently made the charges, I again instructed every Premier to invite the Governor's attention to them as they also affected him and I was informed that the Governor considered the charges unwarranted."

The above statement raises a very grave issue, for it makes the Governors accessories after the fact. Let me inform Mr. Vallabhai Patel that we have overwhelming evidence in support of our case and, far from shirking an inquiry, as is suggested, I insist that a thorough inquiry should now be made by a properly constituted tribunal invested with all necessary powers, and I now ask that a Royal Commission be appointed by the British Government, of a purely judicial

personnel and composed of judges of his Majesty's High Courts and under the chairmanship of one of the Law Lords of the Privy Council.

I cannot conceive any objections to this demand from the Congress or any other quarter and call upon them to support my request.

Before concluding, I must deal with Mr. Gandhi's appeal and Pandit Jawaharlal's visit. I would have been inclined to respond to Mr. Gandhi's appeal had he and other Congress leaders practised what they preached about the necessity for a cordial atmosphere in which a communal agreement might be arrived at. May I remind them that a regular crusade, beginning with Mr. Gandhi himself, is being carried on against the League since the Delhi conversations took place.

Mr. Gandhi himself, since my conversation with him in Delhi in October, has, in the *Harijan*, described the Muslim League as an agent of imperialism ; as an obstacle and an obstruction in the way of India's freedom and progress, and has stated that the Muslim League is insatiable in its demands since it can always look to the British Government to fulfil them. He even threatens the Muslims that though they may be holding up the country at present they cannot do so for long.

Further the Congress press and organisation are carrying on propaganda all over India and abroad, discrediting the League and attempting to divide the ranks of the Muslims. Let me give one out of many examples in my possession.

Mr. Gandhi is, perhaps, not aware that a secret letter from the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee, the present Congress President's own province, issued from the Sadaqat Ashram, P. O. Dighaghat, Patna, and addressed to the President of the District Congress Committee, Gaya, which was published in the *Star of India* on the 4th December

and which remains uncontradicted, says :

"You are, I hope, convinced by this time that the one outstanding question before us, awaiting solution and thus preparing the pattern for our forward move towards our goal of self-government, is the attainment of Hindu-Muslim unity. To achieve this end, it is essential that Congress-minded and truly nationalist Musalmans of Hindustan have got to become vocal so that stopper to all progress applied by the League should disappear."

It is hardly necessary for me to point out that daily propaganda on these lines has the exact result that Mr. Gandhi fears will ensue from my single appeal.

Now to deal with the chief objection raised against my appeal that it will prejudice the communal talks taking place between Pandit Nehru and myself. Let me inform the public that rather than approaching a settlement, as has been so readily and widely assumed, such discussions have yet to commence. The discussions between him and other Congress leaders and myself were of a purely political nature and related to the political demands made by the Congress at that time. This has been stated by Congress leaders themselves. I informed them at Delhi that I could not associate the Muslim League with any joint demand to the British Government till a Congress-League agreement had first been arrived at. I also informed them that no such agreement was possible till the Muslim League was recognised as the authoritative and the representative organisation of the Musalmans of India, and, as this position was not acceptable to them, the talks ended on this point, and on Pandit Nehru expressing a desire to see me again, I gladly agreed and I look forward to his visit.

Reply to Mr. Gandhi's statement on the Constituent Assembly, published in the "News-Chronicle."

I would have preferred to remain silent, but I am compelled to counteract the vigorous one-sided propaganda of the Congress, both in India and abroad, and, in fact, it is only to defend the Muslim League that I speak at all.

It was not very long ago that Mr. Gandhi gave an interview to an American journalist, when he said, in reply to a question, as to what his view was towards the parties in a democratic India, that there was only one party which could deliver the goods, and that was the Congress. Told that there was the Muslim League, Mr. Gandhi said : "I would not accept any other party except the Congress." Then it was pointed out to him that if there was to be only one party in India the government would be fascist and not democratic. Mr. Gandhi replied : "Damn it by whatever name you may, there can be only one party in India, and that is the Congress."

Suddenly Mr. Gandhi, who was always sceptical about a constituent assembly, has now become an enthusiastic convert and its champion. He has been misrepresenting and insinuating motives to the Muslim League recently—for instance, that the League is "an obstacle to the progress of the country and is out to sell itself to the highest bidder," in his periodical articles published in the *Harijan*. He generally indulges in a campaign of polemics and metaphysics, *ahimsa* and truth.

But his interview to the *News-Chronicle* is for the consumption of the British public. A more disingenuous statement it would be difficult to find, coming from Mr. Gandhi, and it is a pity it comes from one who is a votary of truth ! His sudden affection for the Constituent Assembly is on a par with what he has only striven for two decades.

The opinion that counts is Indian opinion, not even the Congress opinion. India's opinion can be ascertained by the free vote of her people. The only true and democratic method is to ascertain their will through adult suffrage, or any agreed equivalent.

The first question will be when he says "any agreed equivalent to adult suffrage"—between whom is their agreement to be arrived at? Secondly, if Britain is not to depend on Muslim, Hindu or any other opinion, not even Congress opinion, then what is India's opinion?

Now that the Congress stands exposed, that it does not represent India and that it is really a Hindu body, Mr. Gandhi is pleased suddenly to stand for a constituent assembly, which, in the present conditions of India, will mean a second and larger edition of the Congress.

Having brushed aside the Indian Princes, ignoring their existence altogether, he (Mr. Gandhi) proceeds to lay down a most extraordinary proposition. "I fail to see," he says, "why Britain's intention about India should be dependent upon Muslim, Hindu or any other opinion."

Mr. Gandhi then proceeds to say, "So far as the Congress is concerned, the people of the Indian States should be represented precisely on the same footing as those of British India." Who will arrange that? And how are electorates to be established there? And what is to happen to the Treaty rights and relationships between the British Government and the Indian Princes?

Then he proceeds, "Muslims and other accepted minorities may be represented by separate electorates, if necessary." This is a concession, but there is no grace in it when he further proceeds to state that it should be done in exact proportion to their numbers. He knows perfectly well that they will be in a hopeless minority in the constituent assembly of Mr. Gandhi's conception, where he hopes to get a brute majority against the Muslims, including other

minorities.

He makes a further concession that " they will determine what is required for their protection. " Is the Constituent Assembly to be bound by the minority vote as to what is required for their protection and for each minority ? And then comes the omnibus clause, which is fundamentally wrong, and once more shows blind arrogance, when he says that in all matters of common interest the composite majority decision should prevail. Therefore, the Muslims and other minorities will have to submit to the verdict of that Assembly as to the nature, character and the form of the future constitution of India, which will presumably be dictated by Mr. Gandhi on behalf of the Congress, as for instance, Muslims and other minorities may prefer a bicameral legislature, whereas the Congress-controlled majority of the Assembly may decide against it—which, according to Mr. Gandhi, will be final.

But evidently his new-born faith in the Constituent Assembly is getting shaken a bit already, because he says if a better way than the Constituent Assembly could be found " for knowing the will of the people, so far as I know, the Congress will accept it without hesitation. " Mr. Gandhi is neither concerned with the size of the country nor the literacy of the masses. A truly representative Assembly presupposes that in order faithfully to express the judgment of the people it can only be constituted if you have a fully developed public opinion, an electorate educated and experienced, free from superstition and capable of judging the vital political issues affecting the country, and not as India stands to-day, composed of castes, creeds, superstitions and provincial jealousies quite apart from the main division of British India and the Indian States.

The Assembly proposed by Mr. Gandhi would at best, therefore, be a packed body manœuvred and managed by the Congress caucus. It is surprising whom Mr. Gandhi

complacently says that an election campaign will itself be sufficient education for the purpose of broadly knowing the popular will. But have we not had sufficient evidence, under the present Constitution, though in smaller and more informed electorates? And what about the experience of the Congress (with its four-anna franchise) of abuses of power and malpractices which were eloquently condemned by Mr. Gandhi himself. It will not be the "popular will," as Mr. Gandhi professes, but it will be the will of one community, which is an overwhelming majority.

But he is anxious, "as a friend of Britain, bound by many personal ties, that she should come out victorious not because of superiority in the use of arms but because of her will to be just all along the line," hence his anxiety to advise Britain to follow him to secure success in the war!

Mr. Gandhi's notion of justice is to follow what he advises, then alone it can be just. I am constrained to say I wish Mr. Gandhi will stop airing views which change from day to day and week to week, and which consistently perpetuate inconsistencies and apply his mind to the only and one question, namely, setting the Hindu-Muslim question as he, of all the Congress leaders, is best fitted to represent the Hindus as such and he can deliver the goods on behalf of the Hindus and bring about complete adjustment between the two major communities and the rest will follow. I need hardly reiterate that I am willing to help to the utmost of my power on behalf of the Muslims towards an honourable solution.

Apart from this academic discussion about a Constituent Assembly, it shows colossal ignorance, both historic and constitutional, to expect a foreign power that is dominating this country to sign its death warrant. The Constituent Assembly can only be real when it has got the sovereign authority of the people behind it, forged by the people, and who are in a position to convene such supreme national

body, whose decisions and verdicts could be respected and honoured and whose fiats and writs could be enforced. It is puerile to ask the British Government, in the first instance, to call a Constituent Assembly of another nation and afterwards have the honour and privilege of placing the Constitution framed by this supreme assembly of India on the Statute Book of the British Parliament.—*New Era*, 14th December 1939.

Reply to Sir Hugh O'Neill

We are informed that London scouts our just demand to appoint an impartial judicial tribunal, namely a Royal Commission, to enquire into our charges of a very serious character about the tyranny and oppression practised over Musalmans in Congress-governed provinces. Sir Hugh O'Neill is reported to have said that he could not believe that the interests of either party to the dispute or of the peoples of India as a whole would be served by a formal enquiry into the matter. What does this mean? This unreasonable reply has imposed an additional task upon us. We shall try to remove his wrong belief when he says that it is not in the interests of the people to do justice. He is entirely mistaken when he says that such an enquiry would embitter Hindus and Muslims. It is a charge against the Congress High Command and the Congress Ministries, which must be investigated in order to stop a recurrence or repetition of it in future.

My attention has also been drawn to an article in the London *Times*. This paper is generally well-informed, but when it says that the All-India Muslim League is not an authoritative and representative organisation of the Muslims of India, it is misled completely, showing ignorance of the actual position in India to-day. Of course, the

League is not the only Muslim organisation in the country, nor does it represent cent per cent of the Muslims in the country, which it is impossible for any organisation to do in any country, but I venture to state without fear of contradiction that to-day it represents the Muslim nation more truly and effectively than His Majesty's present Government respresents the British nation.

The London *Times* is making a great mistake if it is under the impression that any settlement could be forced on the Muslims under the ægis of the British Government without their approval and consent. The Muslims are not prepared to leave their fate and future destiny in the hands of anybody. They alone are the final judges of what is best for them. They must be treated by all parties who play their part in shaping the future of India as a responsible and honourable people.

Suddenly Mr. Gandhi finds that my truthful and honest statement in reply to his letter recently published has dashed to the ground all hopes of Hindu-Muslim unity. This was the first time that I made the position clear. Why then begin to doubt now whether I represent the Muslim mind at all? I know it is not easy to convince Mr. Gandhi of the reality of the situation. He feels that the picture I presented to him, if realised, would undo the efforts the Congress has been making for over half a century. Efforts of the Congress for the first thirty years have already been undone and Mr. Gandhi is mainly responsible for that. It is the policy and programme Mr. Gandhi has been pursuing blindly for two decades that is the cause of the present state of affairs. He is still under a delusion when he says that this is only a temporary phase in the history of the Muslim League and that the Muslims could never cut themselves away from their Hindu and Christian brethren.

It is not a question of Muslims cutting away from their Hindu and Christian brethren. It is a problem of making

our Hindu and Christian brethren understand that we are entitled to our proper place in the Indian sun.

Article on the Constitution Maladies of India sent at special request of the "Time and Tide," London, on 19th January, 1940.

The constitutional maladies from which India at present suffers may best be described as symptoms of a disease inherent in the body-politic. Without diagnosing the disease, no understanding of the symptoms is possible and no remedy can suggest itself. Let us, therefore, first diagnose the disease, then consider the symptoms and finally arrive at the remedy.

What is the political future of India? The declared aim of the British Government is that India should enjoy Dominion Status in accordance with the Statute of Westminster in the shortest practicable time. In order that this end should be brought about, the British Government very naturally would like to see in India the form of democratic constitution it knows best and thinks best, under which the government of the country is entrusted to one or other political party in accordance with the turn of the elections.

Such, however, is the ignorance about Indian conditions among even the members of the British Parliament that, in spite of all the experience of the past, it is even yet not realised that this form of government is totally unsuited to India. Democratic systems based on the concept of a homogeneous nation such as England are very definitely not applicable to heterogeneous countries such as India and this simple fact is the root cause of India's all constitutional ills.

Even as Under-Secretary of State for India, the late Lt.-Col. Muirhead failed to appreciate this fact for, deploring

the present communal tension, he expressed the opinion that the tendency on the part of the both, those in power and those in opposition, was to consider that what the position now was would be the position always. He deplored the failure of Indians to appreciate an essential feature of democratic government—namely, the majority and minority are never permanent,—and he, therefore, felt that the minorities' opposition to federation on the assumption that, from the outset, power would be in the hands of an irremovable majority, was untenable. But he forgot that the whole concept of democracy postulates a single people, divided however much economically, and he might well have started his study of Indian problems by consulting the report of the Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms (*Sessions 1933-34, Vol. I, para 1*). "India is inhabited by many races............often as distinct from one another in origin, tradition and manner of life as are nations of Europe. Two-thirds of its inhabitants profess Hinduism in one form or another as their religion, over seventy-seven millions are followers of Islam ; and the difference between the two is not only of religion in the stricter sense but also of law and culture. They may be said indeed to represent two distinct separate civilisations. Hinduism is distinguished by the phenomenon of its caste which is the basis of its religious and social system and save in a very restricted field remains unaffected by contact with philosophies of the West ; the religion of Islam on the other hand is based upon the conception of the equality of man."

Perhaps no truer description of India has been compressed into a paragraph and, without this background, no understanding of Indian problems is possible. The British people must realise that Hinduism and Islam represent two distinct and separate civilisations and, moreover, are as distinct from one another in origin, tradition and manner of life as are nations of Europe.

They are in fact two different nations and if this fact is accepted by no less an authority than the Joint Select Committee, the Muslim people have cause to question the wisdom of the British Government in forcing on India the Western system of democracy without the qualifications and limitations to which the system must be subject to make it at all suitable for Indian conditions.

If, therefore, it is accepted that there are in India a major and a minor nation, it follows that parliamentary system based on the majority principle must inevitably mean the rule of the major nation. Experience has proved that, whatever the economic and political programme of any political party, the Hindu, as a general rule, will vote for his caste-fellow and the Muslim for his co-religionist.

The British people, being Christian, sometimes forget the religious wars of their own history and to-day consider religion as a private and personal matter between man and God. This can never be the case in Hinduism and Islam, for both these religions are definite social codes which govern not so much man's relation with his God as man's relation with his neighbour. They govern not only his law and culture but every aspect of his social life and such religions, essentially exclusive, completely preclude that merging of identity and unity of thought on which Western democracy is based and inevitably bring about vertical rather than the horizontal divisions democracy envisages.

Western democracy is totally unsuited for India and its imposition on India is the disease in the body-politic. Let us now consider the inevitable symptoms.

Led by an astute Hindu politician of the first rank, Mr. Gandhi, the Congress (which is mainly a Hindu body) had long foreseen that in the Western form of democracy lay the fulfilment of their hopes of permanent all-India dominance. All their efforts and energies had, therefore, been bent towards securing for India a completely democratic

form of government and they realised that the new constitution would bring their goal immeasurably nearer if it could be worked on lines chalked out by their leader and the Working Committee.

Therefore, while crying that the new constitution was thoroughly unsatisfactory and totally unacceptable, the Congress decided to contest the elections held before its inauguration and, as was inevitable, secured complete majorities in the six Hindu provinces of India, namely Bombay, Madras, U. P., C. P., Bihar and Orissa. The Congress, however, was as completely defeated in the five Muslim provinces, namely Bengal, Punjab, Sind, N.-W. F. and Assam and even in the Hindu provinces failed to capture any appreciable number of seats in non-Hindu constituencies, particularly Muslim electorates.

This undoubtedly, was an unsatisfactory situation for a self-styled "national" party and exposure of its communal character seemed imminent. Rushing to Wardha for guidance, the Working Committee took stock. What was the position? In five provinces they had been defeated and while they held a complete majority in six, the oppositions, weak in numbers though they were, were led by the small but solid blocks of Muslim League members.

This situation had two very unsatisfactory aspects. First it brought out the completely Hindu composition of the Congress and secondly it would be difficult to ignore and override Muslim-led oppositions as long as Governors of the Provinces were in possession of special powers granted to safeguard minority interests. Realising at once that such circumstances would considerably hinder their plans, the Congress played its trump card. It refused to accept office. To the consternation of the Muslims and other minorities, overnight, the Viceroy and the Governors became suppliants. What would the Congress have them do? What assurances did the Congress need? The answer was ready.

Give us the undertaking that you will not exercise your special powers and we will accept office. Hastily, the constitutional guardians of minority and other rights jettisoned their trust and, amidst much mutual appreciation of each other's "statesmanship," the Congress and the British Government came into political alliance. Victory number one.

But there was still that troublesome first point. The whole game would be up if purely Hindu Governments took office and in at least three of the six provinces not a single Muslim had been returned on the Congress ticket and not more than one or two in the others. But what of it? Surely there must be at least one amongst the Muslim members who would be unable to resist the bait of a ministership. They would offer the ministership provided he signed the Congress pledge.

But would the Governor agree to this camouflage? What did his Instrument of Instructions advise? "In making appointments to his Council of Ministers our Governor shall use his best endeavour to select his Ministers in the following manner, that is to say, in consultation with the person who in his judgment is likely to command a stable majority in the legislature to appoint those persons (including so far as practicable members of important minority communities) who will best be in a position collectively to command the confidence of the legislature. But in so acting he shall bear constantly in mind the need of fostering a sense of joint responsibility among his Ministers."

Anxiously the Working Committee analysed the implication. The instructions seemed to be in two parts. In the first the Governor was instructed to use "his best endeavour to select as ministers......persons (including as far as practicable members of important minority communities) ......" The spirit underlying these words was clear. It was to secure important minorities a Minister who commanded

their confidence and since there was no difference in the political programmes of the Congress and Muslim League parties in the legislatures, there was no reason why it was not "practicable" for a Muslim League member to be appointed a Minister.

But what about the last words: "But in so acting he shall bear constantly in mind the need for fostering a sense of joint responsibility among his Ministers?" This fortunately could be turned to suit their purpose if the Governor was prepared to allow this second part, advisory and subsidiary to the main instruction, to overrule the first.

They had but to claim that joint responsibility was impossible unless the Muslim Minister was prepared to abide by the decisions of the Working Committee and their point was won. Meekly the Governors acquiesced and in order to allow the Congress to deceive the public by making it appear that it was "national" and looking after the interests of the minorities by including a "representative" of them in the Council of Ministers, accepted as Muslim Ministers individuals who by no stretch of imagination could be regarded as "representatives" of the Muslim community and who, by signing the Congress pledge, were responsible to the Working Committee alone. Victory number two.

Surprised by such easy victories, the Congress became intoxicated with power. The Working Committee arrogated to itself the position of a parallel central government to whom the provincial governments were responsible. Regional dictators were appointed, and the Ministers were entirely subject to their orders generally, and no provincial legislation could be enacted without their approval. They then proceeded to stifle even the little opposition that existed. Having dealt with the British, they now dealt with the Muslims.

An India-wide attack on the Muslims was launched. In the five Muslim provinces every attempt was made to defeat

the Muslim-led coalition ministries and by offering local political leaders ministerships and other inducements, Congress ministries came into power in the two other provinces, N.-W. F. and Assam. In the six Hindu provinces a " kulturkampf " was inaugurated. Attempts were made to have *Bande Matarm*, the Congress party song, recognised as the " National Anthem " ; the party flag recognised as the national flag, and the real national language Urdu supplanted by *Hindi*. Everywhere oppression commenced and complaints poured in such force into the Muslim League's Central Office that the Pirpur Committee, whose report is available, was appointed to investigate those grievances. Such overwhelming evidence was collected that the Muslims, despairing of the Viceroy and the Governors ever taking action to protect them, have lately been forced to ask for a Royal Commission to investigate into their grievances.

Such was the position on the eve of the resignations of the Congress ministries, a position over which the British people might well ponder. Is it their desire that India should become a totalitarian Hindu State with the Central and all the Provincial Governments responsible not to their legislatures or to the electorate but to a caucus unknown to the constitution, the Working Committee of the Congress? They may rest assured that such will be the inevitable result if the Congress demand for the right of framing India's constitution through a constituent assembly is conceded.

Let us consider briefly the implications of this nebulous and impracticable constituent assembly. To commence with, the question arises why is this demand made at this particular time? The answer is obvious. The War is to the Working Committee a heaven-send means of increasing its rule from over eight provinces to over the whole of India, States and Provinces. If the British Government are stampeded and fall into the trap under the stress of the

critical situation created by the War, India will face a crisis the result of which no man could prophesy, and I feel certain that Muslim India will never submit to such a position and will be forced to resist it with every means in their power.

And of what type of constitutionalists will this constituent assembly consist? There are in India roughly 400,000,000 souls who, through no fault of their own, are hopelessly illiterate and consequently priest and caste-ridden. They have no real conception of how they are being governed even to-day and it is proposed that to the elected representatives of such should India's future constitution be entrusted. Is it too much to say that, since the vast majority of the elected representatives will be illiterate Hindus, the constituent assembly will be under the influence of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress leaders and the constitution that will emerge will be as the Working Committee direct?

Thus, through the constituent assembly, will the Working Committee attain its ends. British control and commerce will disappear, the Indian States will be abolished; minority opposition will be stifled and a great Hindu nation will emerge governed by its beloved leader, Mr. Gandhi, and the Congress Working Committee!

We have now considered the disease and the symptoms. What is the remedy? (1) The British people must realise that unqualified Western democracy is totally unsuited for India and attempts to impose it must cease. (2) In India, it must be accepted that party government is not suitable and all governments, Central or Provincial, must be governments that represent all sections of the people.

In this connection the All-India Muslim League has laid down the following broad principles:—

(1) That the British Government should review and revise the entire problem of India's future constitution *de novo* in the light of the experience gained by the working of the present provincial constitution, and developments that

have taken place since 1935 or which may take place hereafter.

(2) While the Muslim League stands for a free India, it is irrevocably opposed to any federal objective which must necessarily result in a majority community rule, under the guise of democracy and parliamentary system of government.

(3) No declaration regarding the question of constitutional advance for India should be made without the consent and approval of the All-India Muslim League, nor any constitution be framed and finally adopted by his Majesty's Government and the British Parliament without such consent and approval.

To conclude, a constitution must be evolved that recognises that there are in India two Nations who both must share the governance of their common motherland. In evolving such a constitution, the Muslims are ready to co-operate with the British Government, the Congress or any party so that the present enmities may cease and India may take its place amongst the great Nations of the world.

Letter to Mr. Gandhi

Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill, Bombay,
January 1, 1940.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I am in receipt of your letter and the advance copy of the article you have sent to the *Harijan*. I not only thank you for your courtesy but also for your anxiety to further the end you have been reading in my messages and actions. I, however, regret to have to say that your

premises are wrong as you start with the theory of an Indian nation that does not exist, and naturally, therefore, your conclusions are wrong. I should have thought however, that you at least would not be led away by one-sided newspaper reports and canards. There is so much in your article which is the result of imagination. It is due partly to the fact that you are living a secluded life at Segaon, and partly because all your thoughts and actions are guided by "inner voice." You have very little concern with realities, or what might be termed by an ordinary mortal "practical politics." I sometimes wonder what can be common between practical politics and yourself, between democracy and the dictator of a political organisation of which he is not even a four-anna member. But that is, I suppose, because you do not consider the Congress worthy of your membership.

I am glad to learn that you were not ruffled by the "Deliverance Day" greeting sent to you from Gulburga. It was indeed noble of you to join in the silent prayer "Long live Qaid-i-Azam Jinnah!" Although these are trivial matters, I nevertheless appreciate that you have realised the true inward meaning and significance of the "Deliverance Day."

It is true that many non-Congress Hindus expressed their sympathy with the Deliverance Day in justice to our cause, so also the leaders of the Justice Party and the Scheduled Castes, and the Parsis who had suffered. But I am afraid that the meaning which you have tried to give to this alignment shows that you have not appreciated the true significance of it. It was partly a case of adversity bringing strange bed-fellows together, and partly because common interest may lead Muslims and minorities to combine. I have no illusions in the matter, and let me say again that India is not a nation, nor a country. It is a sub-continent composed of nationalities, Hindus and Muslims being the two major nations. To-day you deny that religion can be

a main factor in determining a nation, but you yourself when asked what your motive in life was, the thing that leads us to do what we do, whether it was religious, or social, or political, said :—" Purely religious. This was the question asked me by the late Mr. Montagu when I accompanied a deputation which was purely political. ' How you, a social reformer,' he exclaimed, ' have found your way into this crowd ? ' My reply was that it was only an extension of my social activity. I could not be leading a religious life unless I identified myself with the whole of mankind, and that I could not do unless I took part in politics. The gamut of man's activities to-day constitutes an indivisible whole. You cannot divide social, economic, political and purely religious work into watertight compartments. I do not know any religion apart from human activity. It provides a moral basis to all other activities which they would otherwise lack, reducing life to a maze of sound and fury signifying nothing."

More than anyone else, you happen to be the man to-day who commands the confidence of Hindu India and are in a position to deliver the goods on their behalf. Is it too much to hope and expect that you might play your legitimate rôle and abandon your chase after a mirage ? Events are moving fast ; a campaign of polemics, or your weekly discourse in the *Harijan* on metaphysics, philosophy and ethics, or your peculiar doctrines regarding *khaddar*, *ahimsa* and spinning are not going to win India's freedom. Action and statesmanship alone will help us in our forward march. I believe that you might still rise to your stature in the service of our land and make your proper contribution towards leading India to contentment and happiness.

Lastly, I thank you for your anxiety to respect my wishes in the matter of the prefix you shall use with my name. What is in a prefix ? After all, a rose called by any other name smells just as sweet ! So I leave the matter

entirely to you, and have no particular wish in the matter. I really do not know why you are worried so much about it. I, however, notice that the present prefix you are using is according to the usage taught to you by the late Hakim Sahib. But surprisingly enough during his lifetime and till long after his death, you addressed me as "Mr.", then quite recently you addressed me as "Shree," and in between as "friend," but please do not bother about this matter.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH.

M. K. Gandhi, Esq.,
Segaon.

Statement on the Independence Day

I find that even Congressmen are realising that the Independence Day pledge as amended, or with the addendum, is a camouflage, is not genuine in its conception and is humiliating, and it must fall in the execution of its objective to achieve "independence pure and simple."

The Congress High Command, from the latest writings of Mr. Gandhi, are out for a compromise with the Viceroy, under paramountcy in a manner such as would once more revive the gentlemen's agreement and the alliance with the British Government in order that Musalmans and minorities and other interests may be placed at their mercy, once more for them to begin their process of crushing them downright.

The Congress High Command directed the Ministries to resign as a bluff and they are trying to get back because the Viceroy has called the bluff.

So far the trouble has been that Lord Linlithgow was perforce obliged to refuse, owing to the growing strength of the Muslim League, to treat the Congress as the only

mouthpiece of India and therefore was unable to please the High Command as he realised that such a course would involve great risk to the British Government, especially at this juncture. If the Musalmans and the minorities and other interests are to be ignored or sacrificed, Mr. Gandhi, having once tasted the power that was given to the High Command by means of assurances that special powers would not be used by the Governors or the Governor-General, would want more if he is allowed to cross the "t"s and dot the "i"s in what he finds germs of settlement in the Viceroy's speech at Bombay.

But I wish to strike a note of caution and I hope the Viceroy and the British Government fully realise that any repetition of such a position in which the guarantees already given to the minorities are not implemented, or are not honoured in practice, will create the gravest crisis in India; and Muslim India will resist it by all the means in their power and will not shrink from making any sacrifice. The British Government will be wholly responsible for the consequences if they yield or are stampeded by the threats and coercion by one party.

I appeal to Musalmans all over the country in particular and also to my non-Muslim countrymen not to have anything to do with the Independence Day on January 26, as it is intended to deceive the people under the lure and guise of independence. Mr. Gandhi's meaning of independence varies from time to time and I hope the Musalmans will not fall into this trap.

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Statement to the "Daily Mail," London

Mr. Gandhi continues to ignore realities. He demands independence—there is no objection. He demands self-

determination, again there is no objection. But how does he seek to fulfil all these unexceptionable ideals?

Despite what he says, he asks the British Government to bring them about. He proposes that a representative assembly of Indians be summoned to evolve a constitution, which will include the fullest satisfaction of legitimate minorities. Who is to produce this assembly? And, when it has reached its conclusions, assisted by the highest and most impartial tribunal human ingenuity can conceive, who is to implement its findings?

There exists at the moment no other sanction in Mr. Gandhi's mind than the British power. Likewise does Mr. Gandhi imagine that the legitimate minorities are to rely on his word, or a party's word, as guarantor of the fullest satisfaction of the legitimate minorities question. Experience of Congress rule in the provinces does not impel the Muslims to rely on that. Moreover, it is unthinkable that the social contract, which must be the basis of an agreed constitution, can ever be the subject of judicial decision by even the highest impartial tribunal. It is equally possible that the resultant judgment would leave the majority aggrieved rather than the minority. That would be in itself a hopeless beginning.

He asks in fact that the British Government, at the behest of the Congress, should impose an 'independence,' and a process of self-determination of party design upon the rest of the country. If he wants to be logical, he should ask for the immediate withdrawal of that humiliating British bayonet, so that the people of India could settle their own manner of self-determination in complete independence. That he does not do, because he is well aware of what would result if the Congress caucus tried to impose its present ideas in those circumstances.

The Muslim League has been falsely accused of adopting a negative and obstructive attitude. This I believe is due to

false propaganda carried on in England and is entirely unwarranted. The Muslim League has in fact made a positive demand that the whole problem of India's future constitution should be taken up as soon as the circumstances permit, or at the latest immediately after the war.

When the British Government and other parties are seriously and earnestly ready to tackle the question of the future constitution, and show a readiness to set up a suitable and practical machinery for that purpose, we shall not delay to give our views as to the nature and personnel of such a machinery. We are ready and prepared to put forward our concrete proposals instead of indulging in abstractions.

So far no such desire has been indicated either by the Viceroy or his Majesty's Government, but both are busy in persuading Mr. Gandhi to descend from ideals to realities. But I may say that one thing now is certain, that Muslim India will never agree to submit its future destiny and fate, or its rights in the governance of this land, or in the making of any future constitution, into the hands of a tribunal of Mr. Gandhi's conception, or of any other variety: nor are we prepared to accept the final arbitrament of Great Britain. We must and shall be the sole and final judges of what is best for us.

Speech delivered on the occasion of the unveiling of the portrait of the late Maulana Shaukat Ali, at the Anglo-Arabic College.

Mr. Jinnah paid a tribute to the late Maulana Shaukat Ali who served the Muslim community for the best part of his life. The one great thing about Maulana Shaukat Ali which impressed Mr. Jinnah was that he never swerved by a hair's breadth from the path which, he thought, was right. He was true, faithful and loyal to Islam. No temptation

could make him budge an inch from the path he chose for himself. His methods might have been right or wrong, but once he believed that that was the road to glory of Islam, he walked on that road without fear or hesitation. When the Muslim League was revived in April 1936, Maulana Shaukat Ali made up his mind to serve the Muslims through the League organisation and he stuck to it till the end. In him Mr. Jinnah had a loyal colleague since April 1936. He was no longer in their midst, but Mr. Jinnah was not depressed because the struggle had just begun. In any case it would go on, although it might be a long one. He wanted every man and woman to grasp the realities of the situation they were faced with and not to be carried away by catchwords and slogans.

Referring to Maulana Zafar Ali Khan's exhortation to Muslims to free India, Mr. Jinnah said that it looked very beautiful when they said that the Musalman was born to free India. The crux of the problem was that first they had to get their own freedom. Referring to the talk of a struggle, Mr. Jinnah asked what arms and ammunitions his people had? What was their strength? He would be a bad general who would lead them to slaughter. He came across every day with all classes of people and found a striking contrast between the outlook of the Muslims and the Hindus. Whereas the Muslim intelligentsia had superficial ideas and was easily carried away by catchwords and slogans, he found his Hindu friends, men and women, even uneducated among them, with whom he came into contact, miles ahead of the Muslims. He did not wish ill to the Hindus. He was glad that they were better equipped. He had no malice against them. He thought that Muslims were far behind the Hindus in several respects. They were numerically inferior to Hindus, although he did not recognise that numerical strength of a community was an index of its strength.

He summed up the position of the Muslims as follows. They were financially bankrupt, economically zero and educationally at the bottom of the ladder. With all earnestness he, therefore, asked them that if they wished to get their proper place they should equip and qualify themselves. They had to study and understand the complexities of the problems with which they were faced. It would be no use indulging in tall talk like saying that Muslims had ruled over this country for centuries in the past, and had a right to rule even now. What was required was industry, sustained effort and a sense of duty and responsibility. That was the way to lay the foundation of a nation.

Referring to the political problem with which Muslims were faced, Mr. Jinnah, without going into details, summed up the position thus: Britain wants to rule over India, Mahatma Gandhi wants to rule over Muslim India. We are modest people and say that we won't allow either of them to rule over us, combined or separately. The world has realised, the British Government with their shrewdness have already recognised that the Muslim League is the only authoritative and representative organisation of Muslim India, but light has not dawned within the territories of Segaon yet, and Mr. Gandhi is still groping in the dark.

Reverting again to the meagre resources of the League, Mr. Jinnah said that his place on Aurangzeb Road, as a private residence, might be considered enviable, but where was the secretariat or the army? His entire equipment was confined to an attache case, a typewriter, and a personal assistant. He was against underrating their difficulties, although he made it clear that he did not mean that he had a defeatist mentality or that he had not the fullest faith in his people. With all the difficulties with which they were faced he still believed that the Muslims were more politically-minded than any other community. Political sagacity was steeped in their blood and remnants of past Islam were

pulsating in them. The League was now an institution, had given them a platform, a flag and a programme and a policy. He wanted them to strengthen their organisation. When he felt that the decisions they would take would be taken not by some only but by the Muslims as a whole, he would be willing to give marching orders. He did not insist on unanimity, because that was not possible in any nation. He, however, insisted on the solid and conscious support of a majority of his people. If that was forthcoming he would be willing even to face bullets. He wanted to feel that there was a reasonable chance of defeating his enemies before he could march ahead.

Further, illustrating his insistence on preparedness for a struggle, Mr. Jinnah said that England was not able to defy Hitler till September. Austria and Czechoslovakia had to be sacrificed. Mr. Chamberlain had to go to Munich to plead with Hitler. They now knew that Mr. Chamberlain signed the Munich Pact because he found England was not sufficiently prepared for a war in September 1938. Mr. Jinnah said: May I ask, was not Britain a mighty power at that time, had not Britain a mighty fleet and an army? Why did she then wait? Because they in England were not fully ready. In the same way, when I am convinced of the Muslims' readiness for a struggle, I will give them marching orders, and those who betray us at that time will deserve to be shot down. Even Mahatma Gandhi with his mighty organisation, unlimited resources and the backing of the press, is to-day hesitating to launch a civil disobedience movement because he is not prepared and is getting ready. My advice to the Muslims is "let us also get ready."

Summary of a speech delivered at a meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, held on Sunday, the 25th of February, 1940.

In asking the meeting to confirm the resolutions of the Working Committee passed on September 18, 1939, October 22, 1939, and February 3 and 4, 1940, Mr. Jinnah briefly related the points raised during his conversations with the Viceroy, in the light of the demands formulated by the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League. He said that the Working Committee's decisions had been sent to the Viceroy from time to time, ending with the resolutions of the 3rd of February, 1940, giving their opinion after examining the whole correspondence that was placed before them. Mr. Jinnah said that the Working Committee's resolution expressing dissatisfaction and asking him to reconsider the matter was sent to the Viceroy on the 6th of February, and there the matter stands at present and we are awaiting to know what his Excellency proposes to do next.

Referring to the fivefold demand of the League, Mr. Jinnah told the meeting what response they had received from the Viceroy. One of these demands, he said, had, it seemed, been misunderstood by the Viceroy. The League had asked that Indian troops should not be used against any Muslim Power or country outside India. This did not imply that Indian troops were not to be used for the defence of India. If any country attacked India, the Indian army had to fight to safeguard Indian boundaries.

He said that the League had demanded a clear statement on behalf of the British Government that the present Act of 1935 would go lock, stock and barrel, and the entire scheme of constitutional reform would be examined *de novo* in the light of experience gained from the working of the constitution during the last two and a half years, and in

the light of experience which might be gained in future. This demand, said Mr. Jinnah, had been satisfactorily met by the Viceroy, who had assured them that the whole scheme of the Act of 1935 would be examined afresh, as also the policy and the plans upon which it is based.

Another demand of the League was that Muslims would not agree to any declaration or enactment of any constitution unless their consent had been obtained for it, nor was any interim settlement to be made under threat or at the behest of any other party, however strong it was, without the previous approval of the Muslims. In this matter also the Viceroy had assured them that his Majesty's Government were fully alive to the importance of the Muslims, and any settlement which ignored them was unthinkable. Mr. Jinnah said that this statement was unsatisfactory. This left them within the region of consultation and counsel, while the Muslims wanted themselves to be the final judges of their destiny.

The fourth demand was for the settlement of the Arab question, and Mr. Jinnah urged on behalf of the League that endeavours to reach a settlement would not do, and the British Government must reach a settlement to the satisfaction of the Arabs forthwith.

The last demand of the League related to the Muslim grievances in the Congress-governed provinces. It was true that the Governor-General could not intervene when the Congress ministries did not exist. The question, however, had two aspects. Firstly, we made it abundantly clear that the Muslims had been oppressed in the Congress-governed provinces, and members of the League were made special targets. The Congress High Command characterised these statements as false, but was willing to set up a judicial tribunal. The proposal was absurd for reasons already given. On the other hand I offered to accept a Royal Commission consisting of two judges of the English High Court,

and presided over by a Lord of the Privy Council. Such a tribunal, completely detached from the poisoned atmosphere of the country, and equipped with the necessary powers to examine witnesses on oath and compel the production of documents, was the only one that could have done justice. But that proposal was treated by the Congress with derision on the ground that we were invoking foreign aid in our domestic affairs, as if Sir Maurice Gwyer, proposed by them, was a *swadeshi* or born in Wardha! Mr. Jinnah said that he repeated that demand again.

The second aspect of the question was whether the High Command caucus ministries were again to be put into office. The Deliverance Day demonstrations had amply shown how every section of the people outside the Congress was opposed to the Congress rule, including the Hindus who were members of the Hindu Mahasabha and who prayed with us from the League platform on the Deliverance Day.

Mr. Jinnah said, the next question was that of the protection of minorities. Recalling Mr. Gandhi's advice to Hindus of Sukkur to defend themselves non-violently or violently, if necessary, Mr. Jinnah said that the same advice had been given by Mr. Gandhi to Muslims. He thought that, if that advice was going to be acted upon, it meant that the minorities would have to depend on their private armies, as the Government could not protect them. Referring to Mr. Gandhi's efforts for Hindu-Muslim unity since 1925, Mr. Jinnah said, sometimes Mahatma Gandhi saw darkness, sometimes he saw light, but he never came near the real question. His admission that the Hindu Mahasabha was the proper organisation to enter into negotiations with the League raised the question as to whom the Congress represented. Did it represent the Muslims? He wanted Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress to realise that Muslims were not a minority but a nation. All that the Congress said to the contrary was a camouflage and meant submission

and surrender on the part of the Muslims.

Lastly Mr. Jinnah said, people ask me what is our goal. If you do not understand that even now, then I say you will never understand what our goal is. The whole question is very simple. Great Britain wants to rule India. Mr. Gandhi and the Congress want to rule India and the Musalmans. We sav that we will not let either the British or Mr. Gandhi or rule the Musalmans. We want to be free. He asked the Musalmans to organise themselves and wished the members present to convey the message of the League to every Musalman and explain the message of the League and what it stood for.

Speech delivered at the Muslim University Union, Aligarh, on 6th March, 1940.

Addressing the students of the Muslim University Aligarh, Mr. Jinnah made a general survey of the situation in the country and particularly dealt with three questions—the position of the Musalmans, whether they were a mere minority or a Nation by themselves ; secondly, the question of Hindu-Muslim settlement ; and thirdly, the proposal of the constituent assembly.

Mr. Jinnah said that ever since the Minto-Morley reforms most people have assumed that Muslims were a minority and as such needed safeguards for the protection of their rights : but when we used this term we meant it in an entirely different sense. What we meant was that the Muslims were a politital entity and that must be preserved at all costs. The separate electorate was only an indication of this inner feeling of the Musalmans. It was in this spirit that the Lucknow Pact was signed the basic principle of which was that two separate distinct entities were entering

into a mutual settlement. But unfortunately the Hindus understood one thing from this pact and we understood another. They thought that the Muslims were a mere minority who should be governed and ruled by the Hindu majority. The Muslims were constantly bamboozled into a false sense of security ; and the term minority came to be regarded as historical, constitutional and legal. The Muslims were by no means like the minorities in European countries. When the present Constitution was being framed the Muslims insisted upon the separation of Sind and the introduction of reforms on an equal footing in the N.-W.F. Province ; but the Hindus including the Congress opposed it tooth and nail. We were of the view that we must have real power at least in certain areas where we were in majority. On one occasion when this question was being discussed, the late Maulana Mohammad Ali, disgusted with the unreasonable opposition of the Congress, got excited and said, " I insist upon it as it is my corridor from Karachi to Calcutta. " One thing is now obvious that we are by no means a *minority* but a solid and distinct Nation by ourselves *with a destiny of* our own. (Applause.)

I have declared on numerous occasions that we Musalmans are a Nation but when in my letter to Mr. Gandhi recently I made this statement, he said that all his hopes of Hindu-Muslim unity had been dashed. The question is, what are the hopes of Mr. Gandhi and what does he mean by Hindu-Muslim unity ? Mr. Gandhi's hope is to subjugate and vassalise the Muslims under a Hindu raj. I have resisted it with all the power at my command and therefore I am condemned as the worst Musalman in this country ! If this had not been done and Mr. Gandhi had been allowed to have his own way, there would have been greater disaster than there is to-day when we are frankly fighting for some clear and definite issues. Many people ask me why Hindu-Muslim settlement has not been reached. I would say

that upon Mr. Gandhi's conditions no settlement is possible. There can be no settlement except on equal terms and on a footing of perfect equality. (Cheers.) I have got as much right to share in the governance of this country as any Hindu. We have never shown any attitude which may be regarded as inimical to Hindu-Muslim settlement. The Congress on coming into power in several provinces got intoxicated and began to dream of establishing absolute Hindu supremacy over the country. It is this attitude of the Congress caucus which is preventing the Hindu-Muslim settlement, and holding up the progress of the country. The Congress High Command by their attitude are doing the greatest disservice to the Hindus themselves.

Two years ago at Simla I said that the democratic parliamentary system of government was unsuited to India. I was condemned everywhere in the Congress press. I was told that I was guilty of disservice to Islam because Islam believes in democracy. So far as I have understood Islam, it does not advocate a democracy which would allow the majority of non-Muslims to decide the fate of the Muslims. We cannot accept a system of government in which the non-Muslims merely by numerical majority would rule and dominate us. The question was put to me, if I did not want democracy what then did I want—Fascism, Nazism or totalitarianism? I say, what have these votaries, these champions of democracy done? They have kept sixty millions of people as untouchables; they have set up a system which is nothing but a 'Grand Fascist Council.' Their dictator is not even a four-anna member of the Congress. They set up dummy ministries which were not responsible to the legislatures or the electorate but to a caucus of Mr. Gandhi's choosing. Then, generally speaking, democracy has different patterns even in different countries of the West. Therefore, naturally I have reached the conclusion that in India where conditions are entirely different from those of the Western countries,

the British party system of government and the so-called democracy are absolutely unsuitable.

What is the present position ? You will remember that when Mr. Gandhi went to see the Viceroy on the outbreak of war, he broke down and tears rolled down from his eyes when he visualised the possible destruction of Westminster Abbey and the Houses of the Parliament ; and he said, 'What was the use of Indian freedom if England and France were defeated ?' He says so because he knows that he cannot have his freedom if Great Britain were to leave India. But by the time he reached Segaon, he changed his mind and then came the demand for the declaration of the freedom of India and the summoning of a constituent assembly on the basis of adult franchise to frame the constitution of India with certain safeguards for the accepted and legitimate minorities. Having played hide-and-seek in the matter of Hindu-Muslim settlement, Mr. Gandhi jumped at this new idea of the Constituent Assembly, which he claims is the panacea of all the ills. Supposing the minorities were not satisfied, what would happen ? They say that this would be referred to the highest tribunal. I ask, is it a question to be decided by a judicial tribunal ? It is a question of social contract, of framing the constitution for millions of people, which could not be adjudicated upon by any judicial tribunal. Even granting that it was done, who will implement and enforce the verdict of the tribunal ? It is nothing but a blind to cover their real intentions. Then there are other objections : historically and politically it is an absurd proposal. To ask a foreign power to call a Constituent Assembly and enforce the constitution framed by this Assembly and then to leave the country is the height of absurdity. A Constituent Assembly comes into being when a people have seized sovereign power. Later on Mr. Gandhi shifted ground and said that he would be satisfied with an equivalent of it. Who is to decide what this equivalent

would be? Mr. Rajagopalacharya says, 'Fresh elections should be held to the Provincial legislatures, and the members so elected should form the Constituent Assembly.' Mr. Patel goes one better and he says that the present members of the Provincial Assemblies should be allowed to constitute themselves as a Constituent Assembly. But Moonje and Savarkar would not have it as they have no voice in the present Assemblies. Are these gentlemen serious about anything? So far as I have been able to understand, they only want to be a nuisance to the British Government and to blackmail it. It is not that they want the British Government to go but only to cajole and coerce it to give them something which would enable them to dominate the Muslims under British protection.

Now, what is the position of the Muslim League? In the first instance we find ourselves between the devil and the deep sea. The British are not in a hurry to hand over the Government either to the Hindus or to the Muslims. They are playing their own game. It is no use asking for declarations from the British Government and to go on crying 'give us freedom, give us freedom'. They will never give. There will always be some loophole in any declaration that the British Government may make. We, on the other hand, make a positive demand that this whole Act of 1935 should go lock, stock and barrel; and the whole problem of the Constitution of India should be examined *de novo* in the light of experience gained from the working of the wretched Provincial Autonomy, and the developments that may take place hereafter. We have got certain explanations. The Viceroy says that his declaration does not exclude the re-examination of the whole policy and plan upon which the Constitution is based. The whole thing is now open; but, in the meantime, the British Government is too busy persuading Mr. Gandhi and the Congress to descend from

idealism to reality. So far as we are concerned, we are quite ready to make a realistic approach to the problem. But we have real apprehensions. What we fear is that the British Government may again open the door to Mr. Gandhi to pursue his plan of subjugating and annihilating the Muslims and other minorities. I say with all the emphasis at my command that if the British Government attempts or might attempt to have a settlement with the Congress which is detrimental to the Musalmans, we will not allow it to stand. We are demanding of the British Government that no constitution and no interim settlement be made without the consent and approval of the Musalmans. But if our fears materialise, all concerned should know that the Musalmans will resist with every means in their power and reduce the settlement to nullity. (Cheers.)

Concluding, Mr. Jinnah said that it was no use depending upon anybody. We must depend upon ourselves. I am willing to be friendly with all but I depend upon my own inherent strength. Good work has been done so far by the Muslim League but we are only just on the fringe of it. You should know that a veritable war is going on even in India. I appeal to you to put your shoulders together, and work with the Muslim League. Stand firm as one solid block of steel; go on organising our people, training them, disciplining them. They are with us. Do not worry about handicaps; organise the Muslims, bring them all together, train them, drill them and make of them the most wonderful political army that India has ever seen; and we will soon reach the goal of our freedom. (Prolonged applause.)

Presidential Address at the All-India Muslim League, Lahore Session, March 1940.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We are meeting to-day in our session after fifteen months. The last session of the All-India Muslim League took place at Patna in December 1938. Since then many developments have taken place. I shall first shortly tell you what the All-India Muslim League had to face after the Patna session of 1938. You remember that one of the tasks, which was imposed on us and which is far from completed yet, was to organise Muslim Leagues all over India. We have made enormous progress during the last fifteen months in this direction. I am glad to inform you that we have established Provincial Leagues in every province. The next point is that in every by-election to the Legislative Assemblies we had to fight with powerful opponents. I congratulate the Musalmans for having shown enormous grit and spirit throughout our trials. There was not a single by-election in which our opponents won against Muslim League candidates. In the last election to the U.P. Council, that is the Upper Chamber, the Muslim League's success was cent per cent. I do not want to weary you with details of what we have been able to do in the way of forging in the direction of organising the Muslim Leagues. But I may tell you that it is going up by leaps and bounds.

Next, you may remember that we appointed a committee of ladies at the Patna session. It is of very great importance to us, because I believe that it is absolutely essential for us to give every opportunity to our women to participate in our struggle of life and work. Women can do a great deal within their homes even under purdah. We appointed this committee with a view to enable them to participate in the work of the League. The objects of this central committee were (1) to organise provincial and district Muslim Leagues;

(2) to enlist a larger number of women to the membership of the Muslim League; (3) to carry on an intensive propaganda amongst Muslim women throughout India in order to create in them a sense of greater political consciousness—because if political consciousness is awakened amongst our women, remember, your children will not have much to worry about; (4) to advise and guide them in all such matters as mainly rest on them for the uplift of Muslim society. This central committee, I am glad to say, started its work seriously and earnestly. It has done a great deal of useful work. I have no doubt that when we come to deal with their report of work done we shall really feel grateful to them for all the service that they have rendered to the Muslim League.

We had many difficulties to face from January 1939 right up to the declaration of war. We had to face the Vidya Mandir in Nagpur. We had to face the Wardha scheme all over India. We had to face ill-treatment and oppression to Muslims in the Congress-governed provinces. We had to face the treatment meted out to Muslims in some of the Indian States such as Jaipur and Bhavnagar. We had to face a vital issue that arose in that little state of Rajkot. Rajkot was the acid test made by the Congress which would have affected one-third of India. Thus the Muslim League had all along to face various issues from January 1939 up to the time of the declaration of war. Before the war was declared the greatest danger to the Muslims of India was the possible inauguration of the federal scheme in the Central Government. We know what machinations were going on. But the Muslim League was stoutly resisting them in every direction. We felt that we could never accept the dangerous scheme of the Central Federal Government embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935. I am sure that we have made no small contribution towards persuading the British Government to abandon the scheme of Central

Federal Government. In creating that mind in the British Government the Muslim League, I have to doubt, played no small part. You know that the British people are very obdurate people. They are also very conservative; and although they are very clever, they are slow in understanding. After the war was declared, the Viceroy naturally wanted help from the Muslim League. It was only then that he realised that the Muslim League was a power. For it will be remembered that up to the time of the declaration of war, the Viceroy never thought of me but of Gandhi and Gandhi alone. I have been the leader of an important Party in the Legislature for a considerable time, larger than the one I have the honour to lead at present, the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature. Yet the Viceroy never thought of me before. Therefore, when I got this invitation from the Viceroy along with Mr. Gandhi, I wondered within myself why I was so suddenly promoted and then I concluded that the answer was the 'All-India Muslim League' whose President I happen to be. I believe that was the worst shock that the Congress High Command received, because it challenged their sole authority to speak on behalf of India. And it is quite clear from the attitude of Mr. Gandhi and the High Command that they have not yet recovered from that shock. My point is that I want you to realise the value, the importance, the significance of organising yourselves. I will not say anything more on the subject.

But a great deal yet remains to be done. I am sure from what I can see and hear that Muslim India is now conscious, is now awake and the Muslim League has by now grown into such a strong institution that it cannot be destroyed by anybody whoever he may happen to be. Men may come and men may go, but the League will live for ever.

Now, coming to the period after the declaration of war, our position was that we were between the devil and the

deep sea. But I do not think that the devil or the deep sea is going to get away with it. Anyhow our position is this. We stand unequivocally for the freedom of India. But it must be freedom of all India and not freedom of one section or, worse still, of the Congress caucus and slavery of Musalmans and other minorities.

Situated in India as we are, we naturally have our past experiences and particularly by experience of the past 2½ years of provincial constitution in the Congress-governed provinces we have learnt many lessons. We are now, therefore, very apprehensive and can trust nobody. I think it is a wise rule for everyone not to trust anybody too much. Sometimes we are led to trust people but when we find in actual experience that our trust has been betrayed, surely that ought to be sufficient lesson for any man not to continue his trust in those who have betrayed him. Ladies and gentlemen, we never thought that the Congress High Command would have acted in the manner in which they actually did in the Congress-governed provinces. I never dreamt that they would ever come down so low as that. I never could believe that there would be a gentlemen's agreement between the Congress and the Britishers to such an extent that although we cried hoarse, week in and out, the Governors were supine and the Governor-General was helpless. We reminded them of their special responsibilities to us and to other minorities and the solemn pledges they had given to us. But all that had become a dead letter. Fortunately, Providence came to our help and that gentlemen's agreement was broken to pieces and the Congress, thanks Heaven, went out of office. I think they are regretting their resignations very much. The bluff was called off. So far so good. I therefore appeal to you, in all seriousness that I can command, to organise yourselves in such a way that you may depend upon none except your own inherent strength. That is your only safeguard and the best safeguard. Depend

upon yourselves. That does not mean that we should have ill-will or malice towards others. In order to safeguard your rights and interests you must create that strength in yourselves that you may be able to defend yourselves. That is all that I want to urge.

Now, what is our position with regard to the future constitution? It is that, as soon as circumstances permit or immediately after the war at the latest, the whole problem of India's future constitution must be examined *de novo* and the Act of 1935 must go once for all. We do not believe in asking the British Government to make declarations. These declarations are really of no use. You cannot possibly succeed in getting the British Government out of this land by asking them to make declarations. However, the Congress asked the Viceroy to make a declaration. The Viceroy said, "I have made the declaration." The Congress said, "No, no; we want another kind of declaration. You must declare now and at once that India is free and independent with the right to frame its own constitution by a constituent assembly to be elected on the basis of adult franchise or as low a franchise as possible. This assembly will of course satisfy the minorities' legitimate interests" Mr. Gandhi says that if the minorities are not satisfied then he is willing that some tribunal of the highest character and most impartial should decide the dispute. Now, apart from the impracticable character of this proposal and quite apart from the fact that it is historically and constitutionally absurd to ask the ruling power to abdicate in favour of a constituent assembly—apart from all that, suppose we do not agree as to the franchise according to which the Central Assembly is to be elected, or suppose we the solid body of Muslim representatives do not agree with the non-Muslim majority in the constituent assembly, what will happen? It is said that we have no right to disagree with regard to anything that this assembly may do in framing a national constitution

of this huge sub-continent except those matters which may be germane to the safeguards for the minorities. So we are given the privilege to disagree only with regard to what may be called strictly safeguards of the rights and interests of minorities. We are also given the privilege to send our own representatives by separate electorates. Now, this proposal is based on the assumption that as soon as this contribution comes into operation the British hand will disappear. Otherwise there will be no meaning in it. Of course, Mr. Gandhi says that the constitution will decide whether the British will disappear and, if so, to what extent. In other words, his proposal comes to this: First give me the declaration that we are a free and independent nation then I will decide what I should give you back! Does Mr. Gandhi really want the complete independence of India when he talks like this? But whether the British disappear or not, it follows that extensive powers must be transferred to the people. In the event of there being a disagreement between the majority of the Constituent Assembly and the Musalmans, in the first instance, who will appoint the tribunal? And suppose an agreed tribunal is possible and the award is made and the decision given, who will, may I know, be there to see that this award is implemented or carried out in accordance with the terms of that award? And who will see that it is honoured in practice, because, we are told, the British will have parted with their power mainly or completely? Then what will be the sanction behind the award which will enforce it? We come back to the same answer: the Hindu majority would do it—and will it be with the help of the British bayonet or Mr. Gandhi's "ahimsa?" Can we trust them any more? Besides, ladies and gentlemen, can you imagine that a question of this character, of social contract upon which the future constitution of India would be based affecting 90 millions of Musalmans, can be decided by means of a judicial tribunal? Still that is the proposal of the

Congress.

Before I deal with what Mr. Gandhi said a few days ago I shall deal with the pronouncements of some of the other Congress leaders—each one speaking with a different voice. Mr. Rajagopalacharya, the ex-Prime Minister of Madras, says that the only panacea for Hindu-Muslim unity is the joint electorates. This is his prescription as one of the great doctors of the Congress organisation! (Laughter). Babu Rajendra Prasad on the other hand only a few days ago said, 'Oh, what more do the Musalmans want?' I will read to you his words. He says, referring to the minority question: "If Britain would concede our right of self-determination surely all these differences would disappear" How will our differences disappear? He does not explain or enlighten us ahout it.

"But so long as Britain remained and held power, the differences would continue to exist. The Congress has made it clear that the future constitution will be framed not by the Congress alone but by the representatives of all political parties and religious groups. The Congress has gone further and declared that the minorities can have their representatives elected for this purpose by separate electorates though the Congress regards separate electorates as an evil. It will be representative of all the peoples of this country, irrespective of their religions and political affiliations, who will be deciding the future constitution of India and not this or that party. What better guarantee can the minorities have?" So according to Babu Rajendra Prasad the moment we enter the Assembly we shall shed all our political affiliations, and religions and everything else This is what Babu Rajendra Prasad said as late as 18th March 1940. And this is now what Mr. Gandhi said on the 20th of March 1940. He says:

"To me Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, *Harijans*, are all alike, I cannot be frivolous"—but I think he is frivolous—"I

cannot be frivolous while I talk of Qaid-i-Azam Jinnah. He is my brother."

The only difference is this, that brother Gandhi has three votes and I have only one vote! (Laughter).

"I would be happy indeed if he could keep me in his pocket." I do not know really what to say to this latest offer of his.

"There was a time when I could say that there was no Muslim whose confidence I did not enjoy. It is my misfortune that it is not so to-day."

Why has he lost the confidence of the Muslims to-day? May I ask, ladies and gentlemen?

"I do not read all that appears in the Urdu press, but perhaps I get a lot of abuse there. I am not sorry for it. I still believe that without Hindu-Muslim settlement there can be no Swaraj."

Mr. Gandhi has been saying this now for the last 20 years.

"You will perhaps ask in that case why do I talk of a fight? I do so because *it is to* be a fight for a Constituent Assembly."

He is fighting the British. But may I point out to Mr. Gandhi and the Congress that you are fighting for a Constituent Assembly which the Muslims say we cannot accept, which, the Muslims say, means three to one, about which the Musalmans say that they will never be able, in that way by the counting of heads, to come to any agreement which will be real agreement from the hearts, which will enable us to work as friends and therefore this idea of a Constituent Assembly is objectionable, apart from other objections. But he is fighting for the Constituent Assembly, not fighting the Musalmans at all.

He says, "I do so because it is to be a fight for a Constituent Assembly. If Muslims who come to the Constituent Assembly"—mark the words, "who come to the Constituent Assembly through Muslim votes"—he is first forcing

us to come to that Assembly—and then says, " declare that there is nothing common between Hindus and Muslims then alone I would give up all hope, but even then I would agree with them because they read the Koran and I have also studied something of that holy Book " (Laughter).

So he wants the Constituent Assembly for the purpose of ascertaining the views of the Musalmans and if they do not agree then he will give up all hope, but even then he will agree with us! (Laughter.) Well, I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, is this the way to show any real, genuine desire, if there existed any, to come to settlement with the Musalmans? (Voices of no, no). Why does not Mr. Gandhi agree, and I have suggested to him more than once and I repeat it again from this platform, why does not Mr. Gandhi honestly now acknowledge that the Congress is a Hindu Congress, that he does not represent anybody except the solid body of Hindu people? Why should not Mr. Gandhi be proud to say, " I am a Hindu, Congress has solid Hindu backing? " I am not ashamed of saying that I am a Musalman. (Hear, hear and applause). I am right and I hope and believe even a blind man must have been convinced by now that the Muslim League has solid backing of the Musalmans of India. (Hear, hear.) Why then all this camouflage? Why all these machinations? Why all these methods to coerce the British to overthrow the Musalmans? Why this declaration of non-co-operation? Why this threat of civil disobedience? And why fight for a Constituent Assembly for the sake of ascertaining whether the Musalmans agree or they do not agree? (Hear, hear). Why not come as a Hindu leader proudly representing your people and let me meet you proudly representing the Musalmans? (Hear, hear and applause). This is all that I have to say so far as the Congress is concerned.

So far as the British Government is concerned, our negotiations are not concluded yet, as you know. We had asked

for assurances on several points, at any rate we have made some advance with regard to one point and that is this. You remember our demand was that the entire problem of the future constitution of India should be examined *de novo*, apart from the Government of India Act of 1935. To that the Viceroy's reply, with the authority of his Majesty's Government, was—I had better quote that—I will not put it in my own words. This is the reply that was sent to us on 23rd December:

"My answer to your first question is that the declaration I made with the approval of his Majesty's Government on October the 13th last does not exclude"—mark the words "does not exclude"—"examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based." (Hear, hear).

As regards other matters, we are still negotiating and the most important points are: (1) that no declaration should be made by his Majesty's Government with regard to the future constitution of India without our approval and consent, (hear, hear and applause) and that no settlement of any question should be made with any party behind our back, (hear, hear), unless our approval and consent is given to it. Well, ladies and gentlemen, whether the British Government in their wisdom agree to give us that assurance or not, I trust that they will still see that it is a fair and just demand when we say that we cannot leave the future fate and the destiny of 90 millions of people in the hands of any other judge. We and we alone wish to be the final arbiter. Surely that is a just demand. We do not want that the British Government should thrust upon the Musalmans a constitution which they do not approve of and to which they do not agree. Therefore the British Government will be well advised to give that assurance and give the Muslamans complete peace and confidence in this matter and win their friendship. But whether they do that or not,

after all, as I told you before, we must depend on our own inherent strength and I make it plain from this platform, that if any declaration is made, if any interim settlement is made without our approval and without our consent, the Musalmans of India will resist. (Hear, hear and applause). And no mistake should be made on that score.

Then the next point was with regard to Palestine. We are told that "endeavours, earnest endeavours, are being made to meet the reasonable national demands of the Arabs." Well, we cannot be satisfied by earnest endeavours, sincere endeavours, best endeavours (Laughter). We want that the British Government should in fact and actually meet the demands of the Arabs in Palestine. (Hear, hear).

Then the next point was with regard to the sending of the troops outside. Here there is some misunderstanding. But anyhow we have made our position clear that we never intended, and, in fact, language does not justify it, if there is any misapprehension or apprehension, that the Indian troops should not be used to the *fullest* in the defence of our own country. What we wanted the British Government to give us assurance of was that Indian troops should not be sent against any Muslim country or any Muslim Power. (Hear, hear). Let us hope that we may yet be able to get the British Government to clarify the position further.

This, then, is the position with regard to the British Government. The last meeting of the Working Committee had asked the Viceroy to reconsider his letter of the 23rd of December having regard to what has been explained to him in pursuance of the resolution of the Working Committee dated the 3rd of February and we are informed that the matter is receiving his careful consideration.

Ladies and gentlemen, that is where we stand after the war and up to the 3rd of February.

As far as our internal position is concerned, we have also been examining it and, you know, there are several schemes

which have been sent by various well-informed constitutionalists and others who take interest in the problem of India's future constitution, and we have also appointed a sub-committee to examine the details of the schemes that have come in so far. But one thing is quite clear. It has always been taken for granted mistakenly that the Musalmans are a minority and of course we have got used to it for such a long time that these settled notions sometimes are very difficult to remove. The Musalmans are not a minority. The Musalmans are a nation by any definition. The British and particularly the Congress proceed on the basis, "Well, you are a minority after all, what do you want?" "What else do the minorities want?" Just as Babu Rajendra Prasad said. But surely the Musalmans are not a minority. We find that even according to the British map of India we occupy large parts of this country, where the Musalmans are in a majority—such as Bengal, Punjab, N.-W.F.P., Sind and Baluchistan.

Now the question is, what is the best solution of this problem between the Hindus and the Musalmans? We have been considering, and as I have already said, a committee has been appointed to consider the various proposals. But whatever the final scheme of constitution, I will present to you my views and I will just read to you in confirmation of what I am going to put before you, a letter from Lala Lajpat Rai to Mr. C. R. Das. It was written, I believe, about 14 or 15 years ago and that letter has been produced in a book by one Indra Prakash recently published and that is how this letter has come to light. This is what Lala Lajpat Rai, a very astute politician and a staunch Hindu Mahasabhite said. But before I read this letter it is plain from that that you cannot get away from being a Hindu if you are Hindu! (Laughter). The word 'nationalist' has now become the play of conjurers in politics. This in what he says:

"There is one point more which has been troubling me

very much of late and one which I want you to think carefully and that is the question of Hindu-Mohammedan unity. I have devoted most of my time during the last six months to the study of Muslim history and Muslim law and I am inclined to think it is neither *possible nor practicable.* Assuming and admitting the sincerity of Mohammedan leaders in the non-co-operation movement, I think their religion provides an effective bar to anything of the kind.

You remember the conversation I reported to you in Calcutta which I had with Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. Kitchlu. There is no finer Mohammedan in Hindustan than Hakim Ajmal Khan, but can any Muslim leader override the Koran ? I can only hope that my reading of the Islamic law is incorrect."

I think his reading is quite correct. (Laughter).

" And nothing would relieve me more than to be convinced that it is so. But if it is right then it comes to this, that although we can unite against the British we cannot do so to rule Hindustan on British lines. We cannot do so to rule Hindustan *on democratic lines.* "

Ladies and gentlemen, when Lala Lajpat Rai said that we cannot rule this country on democratic lines it was all right but when I had the temerity to speak the same truth about 18 months ago there was a shower of attacks and criticism. But Lala Lajpat Rai said 15 years ago that we cannot do so, *viz.*, to rule Hindustan on democratic lines. What is the remedy ? The remedy according to Congress is to keep us in the minority and under the majority rule. Lala Lajpat Rai proceeds further :

" What is then the remedy ? I am not afraid of the seven crores of Musalmans. But I think the seven crores in Hindustan plus the armed hosts of Afghanistan, Central Asia, Arabia, Mesopotamia and Turkey, will be irresistible." (Laughter).

" I do honestly and sincerely believe in the necessity or

desirability of Hindu-Muslim unity. I am also fully prepared to trust the Muslim leaders. But what about the injunctions of the Koran and Hadis? The leaders cannot override them. Are we then doomed? I hope your learned mind and wise head will find some way out of this difficulty."

Now, ladies and gentlemen, that is merely a letter written by one great Hindu leader to another great Hindu leader fifteen years ago. Now, I should like to put before you my views on the subject as it strikes me taking everything into consideration at the present moment. The British Government and Parliament, and more so the British nation, have been for many decades past brought up and nurtured with settled notions about India's future, based on developments in their own country which has built up the British constitution, functioning now through the Houses of Parliament and the system of cabinet. Their concept of party government functioning on political planes has become the ideal with them as the best form of government for every country, and the one-sided and powerful propaganda, which naturally appeals to the British, has led them into a serious blunder, in producing the constitution envisaged in the Government of India Act of 1935. We find that the most leading statesmen of Great Britain, saturated with these notions, have in their pronouncements seriously asserted and expressed a hope that the passage of time will harmonise the inconsistent elements in India.

A leading journal like the London *Times*, commenting on the Government of India Act of 1935, wrote, 'Undoubtedly the difference between the Hindus and Muslims is not of religion in the strict sense of the word but also of law and culture, that they may be said, indeed, to represent two entirely distinct and separate civilisations. However, in the course of time, the superstition will die out and India will be moulded into a single nation.' So, according to the

London *Times*, the only difficulties are superstitions. These fundamental and deeprooted differences, spiritual, economic, cultural, social and political, have been euphemised as mere 'superstitions.' But surely it is a flagrant disregard of the past history of the sub-continent of India as well as the fundamental Islamic conception of society *vis-a-vis* that of Hinduism to characterise them as mere 'superstitions.' Notwithstanding a thousand years of close contact, nationalities which are as divergent to-day as ever, cannot at any time be expected to transform themselves into one nation merely by means of subjecting them to a democratic constitution and holding them forcibly together by unnatural and artificial methods of British Parliamentary Statutes. What the unitary government of India for 150 years had failed to achieve cannot be realised by the imposition of a central federal government. It is inconceivable that the fiat or the writ of a government so constituted can ever command a willing and loyal obedience throughout the sub-continent by various nationalities except by means of armed force behind it.

The problem in India is not of an inter-communal character but manifestly of an international one, and it must be treated as such. So long as this basic and fundamental truth is not realised, any constitution that may be built will result in disaster and will prove destructive and harmful not only to the Musalmans but to the British and Hindus also. If the British Government are really in earnest and sincere to secure peace and happiness of the people of this sub-continent, the only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate homelands by dividing India into 'autonomous national states.' There is no reason why these states should be antagonistic to each other. On the other hand the rivalry and the natural desire and efforts on the part of one to dominate the social order and establish political supremacy over the other in the government of the

country will disappear. It will lead more towards natural good-will by international pacts between them, and they can live in complete harmony with their neighbours. This will lead further to a friendly settlement all the more easily with regard to minorities by reciprocal arrangements and adjustments between Muslim India and Hindu India, which will far more adequately and effectively safeguard the rights and interests of Muslims and various other minorities.

It is extremely difficult to appreciate why our Hindu friends fail to understand the real nature of Islam and Hinduism. They are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders, and it is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality, and this misconception of one Indian nation has gone far beyond the limits and is the cause of most of your troubles and will lead India to destruction if we fail to revise our notions in time. The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, literatures. They neither intermarry nor interdine together and, indeed, they belong to two different civilisations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their aspects on life and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Musalmans derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, different heroes, and different episodes. Very often the hero of one is a foe of the other and, likewise, their victories and defeats overlap. To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state.

History has presented to us many examples, such as the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, Czechoslovakia and Poland. History has also shown to us many geographical tracts, much smaller than the sub-continent of India, which

otherwise might have been called one country, but which have been divided into as many states as there are nations inhabiting them. Balkan Peninsula comprises as many as 7 or 8 sovereign states. Likewise, the Portuguese and the Spanish stand divided in the Iberian Peninsula. Whereas under the plea of unity of India and one nation, which does not exist, it is sought to pursue here the line of one central government when we know that the history of the last 12 hundred years has failed to achieve unity and has witnessed, during the ages, India always divided into Hindu India and Muslim India. The present artificial unity of India dates back only to the British conquest and is maintained by the British bayonet, but the termination of the British regime, which is implicit in the recent declaration of his Majesty's Government, will be the herald of the entire break-up with worse disaster than has ever taken place during the last one thousand years under Muslims. Surely that is not the legacy which Britain would bequeath to India after 150 years of her rule, nor would Hindu and Muslim India risk such a sure catastrophe.

Muslim India cannot accept any constitution which must necessarily result in a Hindu majority government. Hindus and Muslims brought together under a democratic system forced upon the minorities can only mean Hindu raj. Democracy of the kind with which the Congress High Command is enamoured would mean the complete destruction of what is most precious in Islam. We have had ample experience of the working of the provincial constitutions during the last two and a half years and any repetition of such a government must lead to civil war and raising of private armies as recommended by Mr. Gandhi to Hindus of Sukkur when he said that they must defend themselves violently or non-violently, blow for blow, and if they could not, they must emirgate.

Musalmans are not a minority as it is commonly known

and understood. One has only got to look round. Even to-day, according to the British map of India, 4 out of 11 provinces, where the Muslims dominate more or less, are functioning notwithstanding the decision of the Hindu Congress High Command to non co-operate and prepare for civil disobedience. Musalmans are a nation according to any definition of a nation, and they must have their homelands, their territory and their state. We wish to live in peace and harmony with our neighbours as a free and independent people. We wish our people to develop to the fullest our spiritual, cultural, economic, social and political life in a way that we think best and in consonance with our own ideals and according to the genius of our people. Honesty demands and the vital interests of millions of our people impose a sacred duty upon us to find an honourable and peaceful solution, which would be just and fair to all. But at the same time we cannot be moved or diverted from our purpose and objective by threats or intimidations. We must be prepared to face all difficulties and consequences, make all the sacrifices that may be required of us to achieve the goal we have set in front of us.

Ladies and gentlemen, that is the task before us. I fear I have gone beyond my time limit. There are many things that I should like to tell you, but I have already published a little pamphlet containing most of the things that I have been saying and I think you can easily get that publication both in English and in Urdu from the League office. It might give you a clearer idea of our aims. It contains very important resolutions of the Muslim League and various other statements. Anyhow, I have placed before you the task that lies ahead of us. Do you realise how big and stupendous it is? Do you realise that you cannot get freedom or independence by mere arguments? I should appeal to the intelligentsia. The intelligentsia in all countries in the world have been the pioneers of any movements

for freedom. What does the Muslim intelligentsia propose to do? I may tell you that unless you get this into your blood, unless you are prepared to take off your coats and are willing to sacrifice all that you can and work selflessly, earnestly and sincerely for your people, you will never realise your aim. Friends, I therefore want you to make up your mind definitely and then think of devices and organise your people, strengthen your organisation and consolidate the Musalmans all over India. I think that the masses are wide-awake. They only want your guidance and your lead. Come forward as servants of Islam, organise the people economically, socially, educationally and politically and I am sure that you will be a power that will be accepted by everybody. (Cheers).

Statement on success of Lahore Session of the All-India Muslim League.

Summing up his impressions of this League session, Mr. M. A. Jinnah said:

The first thing that has emerged from this session of the All-India Muslim League is that in the face of the unfortunate occurrence of March 19 resulting in the loss of a large number of lives which shook the Musalmans of India and particularly of the Punjab and Lahore, the Subjects Committee after many hours of deliberation came to a unanimous decision. A still more remarkable fact is that the entire body of delegates in the open session and the vast public accepted the resolution moved by the chair, also unanimously. This has shown beyond doubt that the Musalmans are capable of standing and going through an ordeal and trial worthy of any great political organisation.

In my opinion, therefore, this session was far more successful than it would have been otherwise from that point of view. Without this incident the session no doubt would have been probably a greater spectacular political demonstration, free from the shadow of this tragedy and the gloom that was cast, but there would have been no opportunity to go through the acid test to which the Muslim League and the Punjab were put.

Concluding, Mr. Jinnah said: I have thoroughly enjoyed my stay in Lahore because of the result; otherwise I was worked to death.

Statement on the Lahore Resolution, 1940.

[As soon as the Muslim League, at its Lahore session in March 1940, adopted the resolution proposing the establishment of independent States in regions of Muslim majority, there was a hysterical outburst in Congress and other Hindu circles. Without pausing to consider the merits of the proposal they began to decry and oppose it tooth and nail. Mr. Jinnah in a statement appealed to the better mind of the Hindu and other communities to give serious consideration to the Lahore resolution as the only way of achieving India's freedom at an early date.]

Mr. Jinnah said: I still hope that at any rate the better mind of the Hindus will give earnest and serious consideration to our proposals as therein lies the achievement of India's freedom at the earliest possible period. This freedom we shall be able to retain peacefully both internally and externally.

MUSLIM MINORITIES

Replying to the critics of the League's resolution, Mr. Jinnah said: In the first place a wrong idea and false

propaganda appear to be set in motion in order to frighten the Muslim minorities that they would have to migrate *en bloc* and wholesale. I wish to assure my Muslim brethren that there is no justification for this insidious misrepresentation. Exchange of population, however, on the physical division of India as far as practicable will have to be considered. Secondly, the Muslim minorities are wrongly made to believe that they would be worse off and be left in the lurch in any scheme of partition or division of India. I may explain that the Musalmans, wherever they are in a minority, cannot improve their position under a united India or under one central government. Whatever happens, they would remain a minority. They can rightly demand all the safeguards that are known to any civilised government to the utmost extent. But by coming in the way of the division of India they do not and cannot improve their own position. On the other hand, they can, by their attitude of obstruction, bring the Muslim homeland and 60,000,000 of the Musalmans under one government, where they would remain no more than a minority in perpetuity.

SEPARATE HOMELANDS

It was because of the realisation of this fact that the Musalman minorities in Hindu India readily supported the Lahore resolution. The question for the Muslim minorities in Hindu India is whether the entire Muslim India of 90,000,000 should be subjected to a Hindu majority raj or whether at least the 60,000,000 of Musalmans residing in the areas where they form a majority should have their own homeland and thereby have an opportunity to develop their spiritual, cultural, economic and political life in accordance with their own genius and shape their own future destiny, at the same time allowing Hindus and others to do like-

wise. Similar will be the position of the Hindus and other minorities in the Muslim homelands.

In my opinion after the present tension created by the ambition of one community dominating over the other and establishing supremacy over all the rest is ceased, we shall find better understanding and goodwill created all round. The division of India will throw a great responsibility upon the majority in its respective zones to create a real sense of security amongst the minorities and win their complete trust and confidence.

POSITION OF SIKHS

Mr. Jinnah next dealt with the apprehensions created amongst the Sikhs by the Lahore resolution and said: I always have had an admiration and respect for the Sikh community and I want my Sikh friends to thoroughly study the constitutional problem of India as it stands to-day. I am sure that they would be much better off in the North-West Muslim zone than they can ever possible be in a united India or under one central government. For under one central government their voice would be negligible. The Punjab in any case would be autonomous sovereign unit. And, after all, they have to live in the Punjab. It is obvious that whereas in a united India they would be mere nobodies, in the Muslim homelands constituted of the western zone of the federated autonomous States, including the autonomous sovereign states of the Punjab, the Sikhs would always occupy an honoured place and would play an effective and influential rôle.

INDIAN STATES

Dealing with the Indian States, Mr. Jinnah said: The only important States which matter are not in the eastern

but in the north-western zone. They are Kashmir, Bahawalpur, Patiala, etc. If these States willingly agree to come into the federation of the Muslim homeland, we shall be glad to come to a reasonable and honourable settlement with them. We have, however, no desire to force them or coerce them in any way.

RELATIONS WITH BRITAIN

In regard to the relationship of the Muslim homelands with Great Britain, Mr. Jinnah referred to the Lahore resolution which said: "This session authorises the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all power such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary."

Continuing, Mr. Jinnah said: As regards other zone or zones that may be constituted in the rest of India our relationship will be of an international character. An example already exists in the relationship of India with Burma and Ceylon.

CONGRESS CRITICS

Proceeding Mr. Jinnah said: One set of criticism has come from some of the Congressite Musalmans. Obviously they are speaking in their master's voice and I do not think anyone need worry about it. As to the criticism of some of the Congress leaders it is a parrot-like cry and thoughtless. The only person who has made any serious attempt to criticise the Lahore resolution is Mr. Rajagopalacharya. He, however, judges others by his own standards of political integrity when he says that we mean what we do not say, namely, what Mr. Jinnah desires is a fuller amplitude for

the so-called Muslim provinces to work out their progress without being hampered by a central government working under conditions necessitated by the composition of India's population and the play of political forces at such a centre. Surely, he can ask for many things other than the cutting up of India into two parts based on a mediæval conception in order to attain this laudable desire.

Mr. Rajagopalacharya's arguments of dividing the baby and the parable of King Solomon have gone beyond the zenith of his intellectual powers. This analogy he wants to apply to our proposals. Surely, India is not the sole property of the Congress and if the real mother was to be discovered it would be the Dravidians and still further the aborigines. It would neither be the Aryan nor the Musalman. The Aryan claim to India is no better than that of the Musalmans except that they were earlier arrivals in point of time.

What, however, is most astounding is Mr. Rajagopalacharya's talk when he says: 'Indeed, not even Tippu Sultan or Hyder Ali or Aurangzeb or Akbar, all of whom *lived* during days when differences seemed more deep-rooted than now, imagined that India was anything but one and indivisible. These great men might have differed from one another in many respects, but they agreed in looking upon this precious land and this great nation as one and essentially indivisible.' Yes, naturally they did so as conquerors and parental rulers. Is this the kind of government Mr. Rajagopalacharya does still envisage? And did the Hindus of those days willingly accept the rule of the 'great men'? I may or may not be suffering from a diseased mentality, but the statement of Mr. Rajagopalacharya and his criticism of the Lahore resolution indicate that in him there is no mind left at all. I hope he does not represent true Hindu opinion and I doubt very much whether he represents the opinion of the Congress or its high command so far as his statement on the Lahore

resolution goes.

Message to the Bombay Presidency Provincial Muslim League Conference held at Hubli on 26th and 27th May, 1940.

I am extremely sorry that I am unable to attend the Bombay Presidency Provincial Muslim League Conference. Believe me I would have come if it were possible for me to do so. It may appear that I can easily come probably for a day and that I am shirking, but I hope you will accept when I say that there are very strong and cogent reasons that prevent me at this moment to undertake the journey. However my entire heart and soul is with you. I wish the conference every success most sincerely and from the bottom of my heart.

I am grateful to the organisers and to the people for their desire to see me participate in the conference. I thank them for their kind regard and affection for me, but I feel confident that under the guidance and presidentship of the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad and other prominent leaders who are going to participate in the deliberations of the conference it will be a great success.

Let me say a few words to the Musalmans of Southern Division. The All-India Muslim League has given the Musalmans of India the correct lead. It has given them a flag, a platform, a policy and a well-considered programme, and finally it has defined the ideal and the true goal for Muslim India, by its resolution at Lahore last March, to fight for and achieve it at any sacrifice, for therein lies their true salvation.

I am asked, will the British agree to the basic and fundamental principles of the Lahore resolution, namely, to create independent Muslim States in the North-Western and East-

ern zones of India ? Whether they agree or whether they do not, we shall fight for it to the last ditch. I know that the British politicians, press and public are still holding on to the conception of unity and one India; but I am convinced that it is a self-deception and complete ignorance of reality. At the same time I am confident that when we have successfully dispelled the false propaganda and removed the delusion under which the British public are suffering, they with their sense of sagacity and the British politicians and Government, who are capable of handling big issues in a statesmanlike manner, will not fail to meet us ; and they are sufficiently versatile to grasp the issues. If Muslim India is united and determined and carries on a vigorous propaganda to dispel the misconceptions that have been sedulously created so far, we are bound to succeed.

The conception of unity that the Congress High Command are preaching and hanging on to, is due to unworthy selfishness and is based on mean strategy. It is calculated and rests on the hope of exploitation of British ignorance of Indian conditions, and in fact, they look to the British arms for the realisation and establishment of the Hindu raj in this country ; but it is unthinkable that the British arms can ever be placed at the disposal of the Congress High Command to dominate Muslim India. This attempt at gamble on the part of the Congress is bound to fail and their hopes and aspirations in this direction have already been, to a certain extent, frustrated.

It is amazing that men like Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Rajagopalacharya should talk about the Lahore resolution in such terms as " vivisection of India " and " cutting the baby into two halves. " Surely, to-day India is divided and partitioned by nature. Muslim India and Hindu India exist on the physical map of India. I fail to see why there is this hue and cry. Where is the country which is being divided ? Where is the nation which is denationalised ? India is

composed of nationalities, to say nothing about the castes and sub-castes. Where is the 'Central National Government' whose authority is being violated ?

India is held by the British power and that is the hand that holds and gives the impression of united India and the unitary Government. Indian nation and central government do not exist. It is only the convenient imagination of the Congress High Command. It is a pure intellectual and mental luxury, in which some of the Hindu leaders have been indulging so recklessly.

We are told that our demand is the quintessence of communalism. Why ? Because we propose that the Hindus and Musalmans should be provided with their homelands which will enable them to live side by side as two honourable nations, and as good neighbours and not Hindus as superior and Musalmans as inferior nations, tied artificially together with a Hindu religious majority to dominate and rule over the Muslim India.

We are told next that we may develop extra territorial affinity. Surely, when we have constituted our national homelands and developed our territorial sovereign government it is unthinkable that we shall not guard our frontiers, just as in the Middle exist territorial Muslim States side by side. Next we are told that the scheme is impracticable ; but the autonomous provinces are in existence, even under the present constitution, where the Musalmans and the Hindus dominate respectively. Their reconstitution into geographical, contiguous, homogeneous, independent zones is a most feasible and practicable scheme provided it is honestly examined. But this agreement can only emanate with the one and the only motive and desire on the part of the Congress, to coerce the Muslim India to submit to a central government with the Hindu majority and Hindu rule throughout the country. Our proposal is more practical than 'ahimsa' and 'charkha,' or, for the matter of that

the ideal of *Ram Raj* or *Swaraj* and complete independence of Mr. Gandhi's conception.

Further, it is not detrimental either to the Hindu or Muslim interests generally, and so far as the minorities are concerned in the respective zones they will be given safeguards which will be effective, adequate and mandatory. It is the only practical solution of not only communal but political problems confronting us. Both the nations would be in a position then to enjoy equal status, rights and privileges, free to develop their spiritual, economic, social and political life according to their own sentiments, culture, conditions and genius.

Lastly, it has been said that it is not in the interest of the Musalmans themselves. Surely, that must be left to the self-determination of Muslim India. It is the same old hackneyed argument that our rulers have often advanced when all else has failed them, whenever we have pressed our demands It does not come with any grace from the Congress High Command or the Congress press.

Why talk of the civil war in connection with the League resolution? It is highly mischievous. There will be no conflict and should be no conflict unless the Congress desires it. There can be no chaos and confusion unless Mr. Gandhi uses all his forces of non-violent methods to obstruct the achievement of the Muslim ideal. Our ideal presupposes Indian freedom and independence; and we shall achieve India's independence far more quickly by agreeing to the underlined principles of the Lahore resolution than by any other method.

In his latest article which appeared in the press on the 19th of May, Mr. Gandhi says, "Should it happen otherwise and partition becomes the fashion, either we shall have partition or partitions rather than foreign rule, or we shall continue to wrangle among ourselves and submit to foreign rule, or else have a proper civil war." It is quite clear from

this that Mr. Gandhi understands or ought to understand that to wrangle over the imaginary one and united India can only result in our submission to foreign rule. I pray that Mr. Gandhi's prophecy of 'proper civil war' will not come, but the better minds of Hindus and Mussalmans will come round to the only alternative embodied in the Lahore resolution.

In conclusion, I appeal to the conference to organise the Musalmans and prepare ourselves by creating complete harmony and unity amongst us, so that we may be ready to face any emergency, as and when it may arise.

The issues involve the future fate and destiny of ninety millions of Musalmans and I am sure that Muslim India to-day is fully alive to the gravity of the situation both internal and external that is facing us. Our ideal and our fight is not to harm or injure any other community or interest or block the progress but to defend ourselves. We want to live in this country an honourable life as free men, and we stand for free Islam and free India.

Statement in reply to the Viceroy's appeal issued on 27th May, 1940.

[The progress of war towards the end of May 1940 leading to the downfall of a great military power like France created a sensation of the first magnitude. Both the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy broadcast appeals to the people of India to realise the gravity of the situation and the danger to India. Mr. Jinnah, responding on behalf of Muslim India, explained their position and willingness to help if a satisfactory basis of co-operation were settled.]

I fully realise that both the internal situation and the external situation are very grave. The question is, what is the Muslim League expected to do immediately? Up to the present moment, we have not created any difficulty, nor

have we embarrassed the British Government in the prosecution of the war. The provinces where the Muslim League has a dominant voice have been left free to co-operate with the British Government pending their consideration with regard to the assurances we have asked for and in particular that the British Government should make no declaration regarding the future constitutional problems of India and the vital issues that have been raised in that connection without our approval and consent.

HONOURABLE ADJUSTMENT

Nevertheless, without prejudice to the adjustment of the larger issues later on, we were even willing as far back as November last, to consider the proposal of the Viceroy to bring about an honourable and workable adjustment in the provincial field which would have been followed up with our representatives being appointed to the Executive Council of the Central Government to the extent permissible within the framework of the present constitution and existing law. But this proposal was summarily rejected by Mr. Gandhi and the Congress. A similar attempt was again made by his Excellency in early February which met the same fate. Since then, it seems, the Viceroy has been waiting for the Congress to pass its word.

There are many people who have access to the press who find it convenient to say 'plague on both our houses' and are either ignorant of the actual facts and the position or are afraid to speak out frankly and find it easy to beat the Muslim League and the Congress with the same stick.

NO DIRECT ACTION

So far we have not declared non-co-operation, nor have we decided to resort to direct action, nor are we preparing

to launch civil disobedience at any moment, although we are fully alive to the objective of the Congress, which is to force the British hand to throw Muslim India once more to the tender mercies of the Congress.

This is what Mr. Satyamurti, the deputy leader of the Congress Party in the Central Legislature, says: "Popular Governments must come both in the provinces and the centre. The earlier the better. The acid test of Mr. Amery's ability and earnestness will be his saying to the Muslim Leaguers—no Pakistan, no coalition ministries, no impossible safeguards. You must settle with the majorities. Once having said that, the rest will be easy."

I think the British Government must realise that it is the resistance of the Muslim League to the machinations of the Congress that has compelled the Congress leaders at this moment to make a virtue of necessity when they say that they do not want to embarrass the British Government and launch civil disobedience immediately, but to keep the sword of Damocles hanging over Muslim India.

TRUST IN MUSLIM LEADERSHIP

With regard to Mr. Amery's statement and the broadcast appeal of his Excellency the Viceroy, may I say that it is up to the British Government to show trust in Muslim leadership—and there are many ways of doing so—and as confident friends seek our whole-hearted co-operation and we shall not fail.

I propose to call a meeting of the Working Committee at Bombay before the middle of June or earlier, if possible, when the whole situation will be reviewed and considered in the light of the grave situation that we are facing.

An interview published in the "Times of India," in reply to an interview given to this paper by Mr. Gandhi.

[The Congress demands for the declaration of the independence of India and the summoning of a constituent assembly to frame the constitution of India having been exposed and rejected, the Congress began to feel the pinch of the stalemate that their ill-advised policy had brought about. There were suggestions for a small preliminary conference which could pave the way for the framing of the constitution of India. Mr. Jinnah in a statement pointed out the nebulous character of the proposal, the enigmatic attitude of Mr. Gandhi, and the Congress manœuvre to encircle the Muslim League and break up Muslim solidarity.]

ENIGMATICAL

I have read with great care the interview and I must confess that I see in it no concrete or practical proposal. It is enigmatical.

There are many points in that interview that need clarifying. Firstly, what does Mr. Gandhi mean when he says that he would welcome a settlement which would ensure peace with honour? Secondly, what does he mean about coming to terms with Britain on such matters as defence and commercial interests? Thirdly, Mr. Gandhi suggests that the best Englishmen and the best Indians should hold a preliminary conference. But there are many conditions precedent. If, says Mr. Gandhi, the Viceroy is authorised to declare that his Majesty's Government have definitely come to the conclusion that it is the sole right of India to determine the form of government under which she would live, and if with that end in view he summons a conference of the best Englishmen and the best Indians—the latter elected according to an acceptable procedure—to devise a method whereby a constituent assembly can be summoned for the purpose of framing a constitution and for solving all problems that may arise—then he Mr. Gandhi,

would agree to the proposal. This raises three issues.

Before such a conference could take place, the Viceroy must be authorised to make the required declaration. Secondly, in such a conference how will the best Englishmen be chosen and by whom? Thirdly, the best Indians are to be elected according to an 'acceptable procedure.' Acceptable to whom? And elected by whom?

PUZZLING

Assuming that all these ifs and conditions can be fulfilled, the conference would devise a method whereby a constituent assembly can be summoned for the purpose of framing a constitution and for solving all problems that may arise. This is all so nebulous as to be thoroughly puzzling.

The present ambition and policy of the Congress are suggested in the words of a prominent Congressman:

> Should the international situation worsen appreciably, Britain will make a strong bid for Congress goodwill by trying to meet its demands, very much more than half-way. On his present showing, Jinnah will not be overpleased with this development and would in all probability resort to obstruction. Britain will then turn to her faithful friend Sikander Hyat Khan. Perhaps the good offices and the powerful support of the Agha Khan would also be available. Nor would Fazlul Haq, the Bengal Premier, be found unwilling. Jinnah would still be left a good enough following, but then will come to him the tragic realisation, how so many of the Khan Bahadurs and Knights and titled gentry, who are now dancing attendance on him, will drop away in an instant, at a sign from the British Government whose creations they are. Jinnah would still be a notable factor, but only a factor, not the sole determinant. A Gandhi-Agha Khan, Sikander-Fazlul Haq understanding would have a more far-reaching effect than the Lucknow Pact of 1916. Jinnah would either have to toe the line or stand in haughty aloofness, unable to change the course of history.

GRAVE APPREHENSIONS

I am confident that such a manœuvre will never

succeed, though it confirms the grave apprehensions of the Muslims and justifies their demand for a definite and categorical assurance from the British Government that no settlement shall be reached pending consideration of the future constitutional problems of India, and that no constitution shall be imposed upon them without their consent.

With reference to the recent debate in the House of Commons, Mr. Jinnah said: Mr. Wedgwood Benn who presumably spoke on behalf of the Labour Party, summarily rejected the Lahore resolution. He thereby showed complete ignorance of the situation in this country. Such irresponsible pronouncements are calculated to shake the faith of the Muslims of India.

FIRST THINGS FIRST

Asked if he would be prepared to see Mr. Gandhi to get the points about the preliminary conference clarified, Mr. Jinnah said: I have repeatedly expressed my desire to meet Mr. Gandhi on behalf of the Hindus, as I believe him to be the one man to-day who can deliver the goods. But let us tackle first things first. The most pressing need is a settlement between the Hindu and Muslim nations.

I gather, said Mr. Jinnah, from the interview Mr. Gandhi gave your paper that he is not prepared to use his personal influence to induce the Congress ministers to accept office unless there is a Hindu-Muslim agreement. 'I should wait,' said Mr. Gandhi. But why wait? Why not tackle the problem of a Hindu-Muslim agreement at once?

Asked whether he thought that a preliminary conference was in principle a sound suggestion, Mr. Jinnah replied: The failure of a hasty move for a conference would be worse than no conference at all.

LEAGUE NOT RESPONSIBLE

Asked how the present deadlock could be removed unless a fresh attempt at negotiation was made, Mr. Jinnah said: The Muslim League is not responsible for the deadlock. We are willing to consider the proposals made by the Viceroy at Delhi at a meeting which took place on November 1, 1939, between Mr. Rajendra Prasad, Mr. Gandhi, the Viceroy and myself.

Mr. Gandhi summarily dismissed those proposals.

His Excellency the Viceroy's proposals at the Delhi meeting were that Congress and the Muslim League should enter upon discussion between themselves with a view to discovering whether they could reach a basis of agreement in the Provincial field. If so, they should then let the Viceroy have proposal which would result in representatives of the two organisations immediately participating in the Central Government as members of the Executive Council.

Speeches delivered at Delhi in November 1940

[All manœuvres and designs to bluff the British Government into conceding the Congress demands having failed, the Congress decided to resort to a novel form of direct action in November 1940, namely, individual Satyagraha on the issue of freedom of speech to appeal to the people not to help in the prosecution of war. But it was only a blind to cover their designs. The real object of the movement, as Mr. Jinnah pointed out in the following two speeches delivered at Delhi in November 1940, was to blackmail the British Government and force their hands to throw the Muslims and other minorities overboard and yield to the dictates of the Congress.]

WHAT ARE CONGRESS WAR AIMS

What are the war aims of the Congress against the British Government? asked Mr. M. A. Jinnah addressing a

public meeting held under the auspices of the Arabic College Students Union.

Giving a detailed reply to the question, Mr. Jinnah said, it had been claimed that the civil disobedience movement launched by the Congress was for the freedom and independence of India. Was it really for the freedom and independence of India? Mahatma Gandhi, writing as late as October 29 last year, said that if the British left India, the Punjabis from the North and the Gurkhas would overrun the country. When he said Punjabis, he really meant Musalmans, and he went on to say that if anybody desired to maintain the supremacy of the British in India it was the Congress, which was the only representative and authoritative organisation of the people of India.

COERCING THE GOVERNMENT

I am unable to accept that the Hindus and the Congress are fighting for the independence or freedom of the people of the country, declared Mr. Jinnah. We know why they have launched the civil disobedience movement. The British Government know why. It is to coerce the British Government to recognise the Congress as the only authoritative and representative organisation of the people of India. The Congress says: 'Come to a settlement with us. We are your friends; we desire to maintain your supremacy in this country. Come to terms with us and ignore the Musalmans and other minorities!'

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai after he had an interview with Mr. Gandhi is reported to have appealed to Musalmans and other non-Congressmen not to put any obstacles in their way. He said in effect: 'Let the Congress fight this out in its own way.' May I ask the Congress High Command of which Mr. Desai is a member—he is also the Leader of the Congress Party in the Assembly—to tell us what are the

war aims of the Congress against the British Government? We feel that the war aims of the Congress are to put all the pressure that they can on the British Government and coerce them, so that they may coerce us and let us down and throw us to the wolves. That is the war aim of the Congress. I ask them, why follow this ostrich policy? How can we possibly be deceived?

SERIOUS ANXIETY

The whole effort of the Congress, Mr. Jinnah went on, seems to me to be like that of a bat which has entered a room and flies round and round knocking against the walls but will not, cannot, see that the door is wide open. That is what the policy of the Congress is like. It is, therefore, not possible for us to view this movement with equanimity. We must view it with serious anxiety. I say to Musalmans, please don't get mixed up or involved in this terrible situation, for which the Congress alone is responsible. But if we find at any time that our interests are at stake we cannot remain as onlookers and spectators but we shall play our part and intervene, if necessary. Let that be understood.

MUSLIMS HAVE GROWN UP

Proceeding, Mr. Jinnah referred to statements frequently made in the press by Congressmen and declared that these would not help. Congress leaders say that they are willing to make Mr. Jinnah or any Muslim League nominee Prime Minister of India. They say, 'Let Muslims have all the power. We do not want power. We are ready to accept Muslim rule rather than British rule.' Can any man with a grain of sense believe this? No. The Musalmans have grown up. They are different totally, fundamentally,

radically different from what they were three years ago, and I am as sure as I am standing here that five years hence they will be more different still.

LEAGUE STRENGTH

Earlier, in his speech, Mr. Jinnah referred to the great accession of strength that the League had obtained during the past three years and pointed out that that imposed a heavy responsibility. It is that responsibility which I want you to discharge in a manner which will make the Muslim League grow from strength to strength and success to success and achieve its goal.

He exhorted his hearers to realise both their shortcomings and their strength, and make constructive efforts to remove the former and add to the latter.

Speech at Muslim Students Conference held at New Delhi in November, 1940.

The spokesmen of the British Government have recently declared that the door for negotiations is still open. We the Muslims also re-echo the statement and say that the door for negotiations is still open, thus declared Mr. Jinnah, inaugurating the first conference of the Delhi Muslim Students Federation. Mr. Jinnah in the course of his address dealt with the position of the Muslims *vis-a-vis* the British Government and the Congress and reiterated the demand for Pakistan.

WHAT PRICE FOR CO-OPERATION

Mr. Jinnah said: We feel that it is not only Great

Britain alone, but also India, which is in danger. Situated as we are, we feel that if Great Britain goes under and the machinery of the Government of India breaks down, there is real danger to all of us. Apart from other reasons we do not want Nazis to win this war. We want Great Britain to win this war. There is no question of our changing the masters. We want to take our freedom from Great Britain. For that reason, we from the beginning did not place any obstacles in the way of Great Britain. For instance, in spite of the fact that Pakistan is our anchor-sheet, we did not demand Pakistan as a condition precedent for our whole-hearted support to the British Government. We only asked for an assurance that the British Government would not let us down by entering into an agreement either interim or final with the Congress. It was to be purely a war contract without prejudice to the position of the conflicting parties now or in the future. We promise to give great deal' in men, money and other materials—in fact, the whole-hearted support of 90 millions of the Muslims. I am prepared to bring to the common pool all this, but I must have equal, real and effective share in the power. This is described as 'uncompromising proposals of Mr. Jinnah' by the apologists of the wooden and ante-diluvian Government of India. They want our support on the assurance that we shall be remembered as loyal servants after the war and will even be given a bakhsheesh !

CONGRESS EXPOSED

Referring to the Congress, Mr. Jinnah said that every honest Muslim was convinced that the Congress which is a Hindu body and the Congress High Command had only one objective in view, namely, the establishment of a Hindu raj in India and domination of the Muslims and all the other minorities. He referred to the statements of Dr. Moonje

and Mr. Savarkar, who had declared that the Muslims were like Jews in Germany and should be treated as such and said that Congress nationalism was a perverted nationalism. If it only gave up its pretence of nationalism, it would provide no place to so many " show-boys " of other communities within its fold. The Congress wants independence for which it demands a declaration from the British Government. Does history know of any country or nation which has won its freedom or independence by the declaration of a foreign power? Independence can only be had by qualifying for it. It can only be wrested and captured. The fact is that the Congress wants domination of India under the shelter of British bayonets. The Congress wants power but for coercing other communities. To-day it is attempting to coerce the British Government to surrender power to it. It is a process of blackmail. The Government knows it and we know. But the British Government dare not throw the Muslims at the mercy of the Congress or the Hindus. They will rue the day if they do so.

MUSLIMS' GOAL

Proceeding, Mr. Jinnah said: What do the Muslims want? For the last 25 years they have made repeated and honest attempts at some honourable settlement. This settlement has not yet been reached in spite of the professed desire of the Hindu leaders and the Congress. In fact Hindu-Muslim unity is one of the important items in the constructive programme of the Congress. And yet, instead of getting united, they have been moving farther and farther away. The reason is that the Congress and the Hindus want a settlement under which they can dominate the whole of India. The Muslims, on the other hand, want equal share in freedom, independence and in the future Government of India. This is a fundamental difference

between the standpoint of the Hindus and the Muslims. This is why we have failed in taking over a joint responsible Government from the British. Meanwhile we had a terrible experience of the Congress rule, and the last flicker of a settlement, in accordance with the conception of the Congress, was dashed to the ground. It will take very long to forgive the Congress for it, though it will never be forgotten. We now invite the Hindu brethren that as honest, practical statesmen we must revise our notions of settlement in the light of experience and lessons we have learnt during the past 25 years. The Hindus must give up their dream of a Hindu raj and agree to divide India into Hindu homelands and Muslim homelands. To-day we are prepared to take only one-fourth of India and leave three-fourths to them. If they continue to bargain they may not be able to have this three-fourths. Pakistan is our goal to-day, for which the Muslims of India will live and, if necessary, die. It is not a counter for bargaining. He appealed to the Muslim young men to prepare themselves and to make themselves fit to achieve this goal. Our hope depends on the young men of the Muslim nation.

Text of the speech delivered in the Legislative Assembly on 19th November, 1940.

Mr. Deputy President, I rise to take part in this debate not without a certain amount of sorrow. This is a moment which I think all realise is a grave moment.

Sir, we have heard various speeches in the course of the last six days. There have been essays, sermons, lectures—historical, moral and religious. I am an ordinary mortal and I am not going to enter into all those eruditions and disquisitions that have taken place in this House.

Sir, let us confine ourselves to our path, the humdrum

path of politics and of a legislature. Now as I visualise and survey the entire situation, it can be divided into three parts. The first part is the past, the next is the present, and the next is the future.

Now, sir, dealing with the past: is any good purpose going to be served by our indulging in bitter charges and accusations and controversies over the past? Is this the moment for us to accuse each other, to abuse each other, and say, 'these are your wicked deeds,' and the other side say, 'these are your follies'? Is that going to serve any good purpose? It only adds more to the bitterness; it only makes a problem which is so fraught with complexities and difficulties more difficult and goes further and further away from a point where a solution may be found. I am not going, therefore, to indulge in the past. We know it, we understand it.

Now it has been said—I may state it very shortly—that first and the foremost ground was that the Government of India did not consult us with regard to the despatch of troops abroad. Of course we know that somewhat peculiar convention has been established. We are informed—if you call that consultation it is informal no doubt—we are told that his Majesty's Government had decided to send troops abroad to such and such a place. If you call that consultation, you may do so, I am not complaining at present. We are told that it was enough for us to say to the Government, "we are not going to have anything to do with it."

Sir, that is a thing of the past, we cannot alter it now. Are we going now at this moment to sit down and say that we are going to overhaul, recast immediately the entire constitution of this country?—And mind you, this is a very important factor regarding the constitution of the country.

We were told that we were not consulted about the declaration of war. Well, there has been a lot of constitu-

tional and legal controversy. I am not going to say, this side is right, or that side is wrong; but surely we all know, I think my Honourable friend Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar knows perfectly well, that the position of the Government of India is totally different from the position of the Dominions of the Westminster variety—totally. Why pretend, and why let Mr. Griffiths say—as he did—I think it was a very unwise remark, indeed, when he said that the moment the Congress party was not here, the House ceased to be a representative one. Well, do you realise what you are saying, *viz*, that then the rest does not count? What did you mean?

MR. P. J. GRIFFITHS: I meant that a part cannot represent the whole

MR. M. A. JINNAH: Of course not, if a large portion goes out. That is obvious. But is that a justification for saying that the Government, therefore, did not think it advisable to consult this House? Why not?

That is not the reason, sir The reason is that the Government of India have got no power; that is the real reason, and this House has got no power to say, "we will not declare India as a belligerent." We have not got the power. However bad it may be, however much we may resent it, it is a fact, a constitutional, legal and physical fact that India is in the possession of Great Britain and a dependency. You cannot get away from it. Can you contend for a single moment that this Government has got the power and even his Excellency the Viceroy, the Representative of the Crown, has got the power to consult this Legislature and, still better, abide by its decision with regard to the declaration of war or no war? Then why pretend? Why mislead? We know the Government of India cannot do it, and there is an end of it. War has been declared. Very well. Well, now, as I say, I do not want to discuss the past history. I do not want to discuss past deeds; I know

war was declared by his Majesty's Government and the Sovereign ; and whether India liked it or whether India did not like it, whether India is willing or unwilling, India is in it—and that is a fact.

Now I ask the Honourable members of this House to bear in mind that we are face to face with this position and that is the present situation. Now, what are we to do? Sir, it is a pity really that arguments should be advanced on the one side and arguments should be advanced on the other side which have no reality.

Again, what is to be done now? That is the question before the House. Well, if the Government tell me and if they want to put fear into my heart by advancing the argument that if England is defeated what will happen to us, then all I can say is that I do not want England to be defeated. I have never said so. But might I not say that if England is defeated, who will lose more? You or I? If England is defeated, then England not only loses its liberty, its freedom and not only it may come under the heels of the Nazis, but nothing is left to her. Might I not say to the Government that you are in a much greater danger than I am? Is that going to help us? You may for the purpose of propaganda to the unwary and ignorant say: Oh, if England is defeated, what will be India's position! Your liberty or even aspiration to liberty or aspiration to responsible government, your religion, your churches and your mosques will be demolished! It may be so. But is that going really to do the trick or is it not open to the retort which I mentioned just now?

There is another argument and that is particularly aimed at the Musalmans of this country. We are told that the Muslim countries are in danger. Of course, they are. Nobody disputes it. But, as I said, a government has got to think really in a responsible manner. Can you by these arguments and propaganda succeed? Of course you can do a

lot by propaganda but there are certain things which you cannot carry out by inspiring fear alone. Therefore, the position is this. So far as the Muslim League is concerned, I venture to say and without any fear of contradiction, that from the very beginning we have not put any difficulty in the way of the Government. We have not embarrassed the Government in any way from the very commencement. From the 4th of September 1939 right up to the 29th of September this year, which is one year, we have put no difficulties of any kind whatsoever in the course of the negotiations.

Let me shortly take this House as quickly as I can through important events. After the Representative of the Crown had interviewed a large body of the leading representative men of India, suddenly I was summoned jointly with Mr. Gandhi and Babu Rajendra Prasad, the President of the Congress in October 1939. In October I did not know nor, I believe, did Mr. Gandhi or Babu Rajendra Prasad know, when we met the Viceroy jointly, but a proposal came from his Excellency. What was that proposal? You all know it, I think. I will put his proposal in a few sentences. So far as the provincial field was concerned, it was entirely in the hands of the two major parties, namely the Congress and the Muslim League, and if we could come to some adjustment in the provincial field, he was prepared to expand his Executive Council. The number of the Executive Council is not limited or defined under the Statute. It is an unlimited number. He conveyed to us that in the expansion of his Executive Council he would be prepared to meet us to the utmost extent he could. What was the result of it? I hope Honourable members will not misunderstand me in any way. I did not say that it was getting all as the Congress wanted, nor was it getting all that I or the Muslim League wanted. We were not satisfied and they were not satisfied with regard to the response of the

Government to our respective demands. But the point is this that I stated there and then on my responsibility that we were willing to consider the Viceroy's proposals. Unfortunately, Mr. Gandhi there and then rejected it. He won't look at it. There, then, the matter broke down for the time being. In February, again—I do not know exactly what happened, I can only say what appeared in the newspapers—the Orient Club speech of the Viceroy conveyed to Mr. Gandhi that there was a germ for an honourable settlement. Another effort was made in February but it also met with the similar result. What happened from February onwards, I do not know.

Now I am talking of the British Government because, after all, the Representative of the Crown has really got to carry out the instructions from his Majesty's Government. Evidently there was a lull. Why, then, blame the Muslim League? I hear from very many gentlemen, some of them are members of this House and some are not, "plague on both your houses," which is unjust to the Muslim League. To bracket it with the Congress shows colossal ignorance.

Then what happened after that? After that, we thought that the whole business had gone to sleep. But in the interests of India—and I have said this repeatedly—it is the duty of every Indian to see that India's defence is intensified for the protection of our own homes and hearths in case of danger. We passed a resolution, I think, in June. I will just read one small paragraph to show what we said, and what was our attitude:—

"The grave world situation demands serious efforts on the part of every Indian for the defence of his country and the Working Committee calls upon the Government of India to prepare the country in an organised manner to meet every eventuality. The Committee is constrained to state that the proposals for the defence of India indicated in the statements of their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Commander-

in-Chief as well as the statements of some provincial Governors are wholly inadequate to meet the urgent requirements of the situation. The Committee, therefore, authorises its President to enter into negotiations with his Excellency the Viceroy with a view to exploring the possibility of devising prompt and effective measures to mobilise the country's resources for the purpose of intensifying war efforts and the defence of India. The Committee is of the view that unless a satisfactory basis of close co-operation is agreed upon on an all-India basis and not province-wise between the Government and the Muslim League and such other parties as are willing to undertake the responsibility for the defence of the country in the face of imminent danger, the real purpose and object will not be served and achieved."

Sir, this was on 17th of June. Then, I imagine, something happened and this exposition, it seems, had a wholesome effect. I do not know in fact, but I can only say that immediately this resolution reached the headquarters, a move was again made. With what result? With this result that, unfortunately, the Congress position again remained the same. I shall presently deal with our attitude towards the Congress when I come to deal with that. But that is how we stand. The Congress position stands the same.

My Honourable friend Mr. James made an excellent speech and he came very near it, just as he said we came very near it. The principle, as he said, has been accepted, and he correctly described it. What is the principle? "Co-operation with authority in the Government at the Centre and in the Provinces." That is accepted. Then he says to me: "how do you now stand? Make your position clear to us." I will read a short extract from his speech as it was reported in the press.

"He (that is Mr. James) understood that the Muslim League have moved very closely to the acceptance in principle of the statement made by his Majesty's Government, subject

to various reservations. But he should like to know whether that was final ? "

What is final? The principle is accepted. Then he proceeded to say, " would they throw away the principle for the sake of details " ?

We accept the principle but it may be completely destroyed in the execution of details, or it may be reduced to a zero in its application. In this matter how can you make distinctions ? The principle can be reduced to nonsense. In other words, may I give you one example : I want your help, I am in danger and so are you. We will not apportion the degree of danger between us both. We both are in danger. I am willing to throw into the pool all the resources I can, and I say, I am ready, let us both face together the peril and the danger. Let us both sink or swim. All right so far. But what about my having a voice in the use of the assets that I bring into this pool, leave alone the share in the victory ? Am I not to have some share, some voice, some say as to how it is going to be used, and how the joint venture is to be run ? The answer is, " Oh, no, I will use that as I like."

Then, when I am obdurate and say that I want really a proper share, some proper voice, then you say, ' I will take you as my partner. So you will also have a voice and a share and a say in the matter.' What will be my share ? ' I will give you two jobs to your representatives.' What is going to be the total number of the controlling authority ? ' I cannot tell you.' Who else is coming into this controlling authority ? ' I cannot tell you.' What will be the portfolios ? ' I cannot tell you ' It means really, to put it shortly, ' I will have you as my partner, but I will give you only one pie as share.' In that case, why do you want my partnership in name ? I ask Mr. James as a man of business, if this is business ?

Then, again, Mr. James says: " The Muslim League

however, has made their position clear with regard to the prosecution of the war." I am glad we have made our position clear. Then Mr. James continues and quotes me, "Mr. Jinnah in his speech on the *Id* day declared whatever be the misdeeds of the British Government in the past, in the interests of India it was the Muslims' duty......" That is not quite correct. I did not say "duty." I said, we were convinced in the interests of India, "to support and co-operate with them now in order to protect our hearths and homes."

Then, when I asked him to read on, he said, "I have not got the rest of it." Sir, I do not want really to waste the time of the House over these matters. But it is important. I think Mr. James, if he had read the whole of my speech, would not have ended by these remarks. He says this: "His only object in referring to the speech was to make clear that the Muslim League party leader's speech on the Finance Bill was awaited to see how he implements that duty to which he alluded in the *Id* day speech."

May I appeal to Mr. James to turn on that side and not on my side and ask them how they are going to implement that principle which, you have rightly said, was accepted by the Muslim League? And what I said on Friday, the eve of the *Id* day, was this: "We are convinced that in the interests of India, whatever may have been the deeds of the British Government in the past, we should support and co-operate with them, as we are now in the same boat. And in order to protect our homes and hearths we must make every preparation in the event of the war coming to the Indian shores. The Muslim League has always made it clear that we are willing to give men, blood and money, but the British Government does not want our co-operation with real authority"—I repeat those words, "with real authority"—I ask Mr. James to address the Treasury Benches next time—"in the Government and the offer that they made is merely in name by way of sharing authority. That

is the difficulty in our way to get Muslim India "—they cannot be ordered—" in giving whole-hearted support in the prosecution of the war. Perhaps Government are not meeting us reasonably, because they are afraid of the Congress or it may be that they are not prepared to trust us." I will add one more reason now. Or it may be, as the Honourable Leader of the House said, England is having a strong hold now and we cannot possibly prevent or help very much the war efforts of the Government of India, and therefore there is no need for it.

Then I continued, "But these are only my guesses. God only knows what is the real reason; why they are not meeting us in a satisfactory manner."

That, sir, has been our position from the very beginning and that is the position to-day. We are now asked to vote supplies. Sir, so long as this war goes on and so long as the Government of India have got to carry on the war efforts, it is obvious that you cannot do without money. We have got to be thankful that the demand is only for six crores just now. But we cannot scrutinise and examine the propriety of this *Bill*, and we have really no means of knowing how you will spend it or what commitments you have made. We have no voice, no say, no share, no look-in and no control as to what you have done or what you will do. We have a number of complaints,—there may be foundation for them or no foundation,—as to how the Supply Department is going on, how the Army Department is going on, how this or that department is going on. There is suspicion and distrust and people are wondering what you are doing behind the scene. I ask you, sir, even at this grave critical moment, if the Government are really in earnest, if they are really serious, if they really want our hand of co-operation and friendship, take it on an honourable basis. If they had, as Mr. Amery in his speech said, the real purpose of expansion of the Executive Council, of

having the representatives of political organisations in the executive, well and good. That will restore the confidence of the public. You will then find that those very representatives, both on the floor of this House and outside, would be free to explain to the people what is going on. But now the Government and its administration is a sealed book completely. And what does Mr. Amery say?

"The Viceroy's offer on the other hand presents to the Indian leaders an opportunity of taking an effective and important part in the Government of India and bringing their influence to bear on the conduct of the war without prejudice to their several positions. They will have committed themselves to nothing except working together in the present emergency for the safety and good of India and for the common cause in which they all believe."

That is really the position of the Muslim League. Can you expect us to vote supplies in the expenditure and use of which we have no say, no voice, no share, no authority and no control? I cannot understand how Honourable members can possibly make one speech after another appealing to sentiments and lecturing and essaying. I ask the Treasury Benches, I ask the European Group, why do you not put your heads together and bring some sense in those who are now in power? There is my Honourable friend Sir Henry Gidney who was so eloquently appealing to me. He said, he sent me a telegram that he would be with me to the last ditch, and he again reaffirms that he will be with me till the last ditch. But by his speech he has already sent me to the last ditch. Let us get into the first ditch and let him face those people there instead of appealing to me.

LIEUT.-COL. SIR HENRY GIDNEY: I have faced them.

MR. M. A. JINNAH: You did not. Why do you not tell them?

SIR GIDNEY: I have.

MR. M. A. JINNAH. Why do you not say it on the floor

of this House?

SIR GIDNEY: I have.

MR. M. A. JINNAH: No; you did not. I was here throughout your speech.

Sir, it has become a fashion to give a lecture to the weaker party, and you can afford to lecture the weaker party. Now I say and I say again to Mr. James: Remember, our resolution was rejection of that *specific offer*. The doors of the Muslim League are still open. But we cannot really possibly vote supplies in the expenditure of which we have no lot, no share, no control.

Then I am told—and this is their last argument, a forlorn argument—all the others are platitudes for supporting the Government—what will happen and all that—but the last is this: that if we allow this Bill to be defeated—and of course the Congress are absolutely determined to defeat the Government—what will be the impression abroad? In the first instance, if the Congress succeeds in defeating the Government, it is not my fault; it is the fault of your constitution; and you have enacted this constitution; you have been carrying it on—this wooden, ante-diluvian Government for decades now, and you cannot have it both ways. It is your constitution, it is of your making. But I am told, "But it will have a bad impression abroad." When you say bad impression abroad, where and what will be the impression? Let me tell you, sir, that those who want to create that impression have worked it out mathematically. Even if you win by a few votes, even if the Muslim League was to go into your lobby, they have already informed those abroad that the majority of the elected members are against it; and which fool is there in America, which fool is there in Germany, who does not know your constitution, who does not know the nature and character of this Assembly? Who is the man who will be so much upset that you will on that account lose the war or because this Finance

Bill was rejected?

Let me for the sake of argument assume—and assuming that it will be an embarrassment—although I do not think so, and I think you are exaggerating and you are attaching too much importance to it—but even if it was likely to embarrass you, how can you expect me to support you?

Mind you, I do not say that I am satisfied with the acceptance of the principle of the expansion of Governor-General's Executive, but it is not a question of my being fully satisfied. Nobody is going to get 16 annas and specially, believe me, when you are in the grip of danger, it is not wise for one party or the other to put up any extraordinary demands, because that is neither right nor business, and that is the very reason why we have never said a word that you should agree to give me Pakistan before I support you: and believe me, whatever my friends of the Congress Party may say, we have finally determined that that is our only goal; and we will fight for it and die for it. Make no mistake about it. Democracy is dead—democracy of Mr. Desai's kind. We may be less in numbers and we are: but we could give you, I venture to say and perhaps you do not know it, but I do, and I am not saying this by way of a threat but by way of information to you—that we can give you hundred times more trouble than the Congress can give you if we desire or determine; but we do not want to. You will realise that. But we do not want to do it even now.

The future—we will leave the future to shape and develop—therefore so far as the Government is concerned, that is the position of the Muslim League.

I have only got to say few more words with regard to my Congress friends; and I think I must at least tell them what I think whether they agree with me or whether they do not, but as Mr. Desai said it very rightly, we must face facts. What is the position? I will narrate it very briefly.

Mr. Desai read out a statement of the Working Committee which he said was of the 10th September: I only interrupted him because in my record it was the 14th September: I wished to get the correct date. Mr. Desai says the 10th and I accept that.

After that statement of the Working Committee of the 10th September that resolution or statement was placed before the All-India Congress Committee and that Committee passed the resolution on the 10th of October of last year. That resolution laid down a declaration of India's independence and freedom, the right to frame their own constitution by a constituent assembly to be elected by way of adult franchise, and special franchise for the minorities and safeguards for the minorities to the satisfaction of the minorities.

And although I am pressed for time, I think I must tell the House the correct position. And I tell you and my Congress friends that they have still at the back of their head the idea that the Congress and Congress alone represents the country, the people of India, the Indian nation, and so on, that they alone are the spokesmen, and that the Muslims and others are minorities. I say this on the floor of this House that the reason why there has not been a settlement between the Hindus and the Musalmans is that—the Congress leaders will pardon me for saying this —the Congress is a Hindu organisation, whatever they may say—that the Hindu leaders and Congress leaders have had always at the back of their head the basis that the Musalmans have to come within the ken of the Congress and the Hindu raj, that they are a minority, and all that they can justly press for is merely safeguards as a minority, whereas let me tell gentlemen of the Congress and the Nationalist Congress Party members that the Musalmans always had at their back the basis,—and it has never been different during the last 25 years,—that they are a separate entity......

MR. M. S. ANEY: At least that was not the view of Mr. Jinnah before 1920.

MR. M. A. JINNAH: Since 1916, since the Lucknow Pact was passed, on the fundamental principle of two separate entities.

MR. M. S. ANEY: I was there.

MR. M. A. JINNAH: My friend may have been there, but he was not even heard of at that time.

That has been at the back of the Musalman mind, and the other idea has been at the back of the Hindu leaders' mind. The bases are different, and I will give my friends one more proof because I was interrupted. Why is it,—do you know it or do you not,—why is it that the Musalmans insisted upon the separation of Sind? You know it. Do you know that the man who was at that time devoted to the Congress (Maulana Mohamed Ali), said,—"We want a corridor from Karachi to Calcutta?" Do you remember that? Why is it that some of you so vehemently opposed the separation of Sind? No doubt, outward grounds are different, but the real grounds we know. Outwardly, it is financial ground, this, that and the other. You said Sind will be better off with Bombay, it is not the interest of Sind to be separated, and so on......

MR. LALCHAND NAVALRAI: Is it not unfortunate now for Sind?

MR. M. A. JINNAH: My dear friend, it is a misfortune to all of us now. Nobody is in fortune just now. I am only giving indications to prove my point that that has been at the back of Muslim India and the Hindu India and the bases have been different, and that is why we have failed to come to a settlement up to the present moment.

I will quote from my friend the deputy leader, Mr. Satyamurti, and what did he say only as late as May last after Mr. Amery had made his statement? This is what Mr. Satyamurti said. What was his acid test? He said, "The

acid test of Mr. Amery's ability and earnestness will be his saying to the Muslim Leaguers, "no Pakistan, no coalition ministries, no impossible safeguards, you must settle with the majority ; once he says that, the rest will be easy "...

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER : Who says that?

MR. M. A. JINNAH : Mr. Satyamurti. He says, no coalition ministries, no impossible safeguards, settle with the majority. My friend asks, hand over the Muslims to our tender mercies!

MR. S. SATYAMURTI : No, no, I did not say that.

MR. M. A. JINNAH : My friend's acid test is nothing but that.

MR. SATYAMURTI : I did not say that.

MR. M. A. JINNAH : I say, sir, that is the mentality at the back of Congress leaders.

MR. S. SATYAMURTI : Not at all.

MR. M. A. JINNAH : And I tell my friends that they are making the greatest mistake that they ever made in their life. Mr. Satyamurti says to Mr. Amery—"tell them to settle with the majority." Well, I daresay, I get frightened of Mr. Amery also, because the Congress people are sharpening the knife,—non-co operating and preparing for civil disobedience and launching it. This Government and the British Government, if I may say so, are unnerved, and I get frightened, and the Congress think that, in spite of your tenacity, you may be forced into it and yield.

But then comes the statement of 8th of August and Mr. Amery's speech. That is now the crux. I don't say that the British Government could have done anything else. If they had done anything else, if they had been a party to coerce the Muslims, if they had been a party to throw the Muslims and other minorities at the mercy of the Congress, they would have left a dishonourable record in the history of this country. If they had done that, what would it have come to ? That is really where I am

13

fundamentally at variance with the Congress. They do not want the independence of India. I will read what Mr. Gandhi said. What they want is, under the overlordship of Britain, power and patronage to dominate the Muslims and rest of the minorities. This is what Mr. Gandhi himself says, and it is a matter to which I cannot subscribe. It is my conviction and I am satisfied that that is his objective and aim.

The article he wrote on the 29th of October is a proof positive thereof. Of course, Mr. Gandhi's articles and speeches are such that you can derive support for any proposition; he is like the oracle of Delphi. But in order to understand Mr. Gandhi you have to study and go deep into the matter. This is what Mr. Gandhi said on the 29th October last year after he had rejected the offer of the Viceroy: "If to-day the British leave India, the Punjabis from the Punjab"—he might have honestly said Muslims,—"and Gurkhas from the east will destroy the country. If, therefore, there could be anyone desirous of maintaining the supremacy of the British in India,"—mark the words—"*if, therefore,* there could be any one desirous of maintaining the supremacy of the British in India"—it can only be the Congress."

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: Read on, please.

MR. M. A. JINNAH: I am reading on; I have studied it much more than you have done.

Now comes the other operative part: "It is the only authoritative and representative body of Indian people and of those Hindus who are in spite of their majority weak."

I ask this House, I ask any intelligent man, what does this mean? On 29th October last year, after the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee of the 10th October, within less than 20 days, Mr. Gandhi writes this article. That resolution, if you honestly believe in it, asks for complete independence: the right of the people of India to frame their own constitution by a constituent assembly to be

elected by adult franchise. But here what does this mean? He was telling the British Government, 'you settle with me, I am more desirous to maintain your supremacy here than the Punjabis and the Gurkhas.' Mr. Gandhi became a convert, a complete convert, to this artistic resolution of the 10th October when he found that this was not going to do the trick, and when he realised it, he became a convert and he found that it was panacea for all and every kind of ills the people of India are suffering from. What was the panacea? The constituent assembly. This went on. When this constituent assembly was beaten and dead, then we now come to what the Leader of the Opposition emphasised to-day most,—I believe the Congress Delhi resolution. What is it? He only mentioned a part of it. He did not emphasise the first part of it. The first part of it—correct me if I am wrong—declares "complete independence of India and freedom with a right to frame its own constitution by a constituent assembly," etc., etc. And mind you, it is a conjunctive—"and" not *or*—" provisional national government at the centre responsible to the elected members of this House."

Beautiful! I assure you it appeals to me more than it appeals to you, and I dreamt of it when I was a boy of 21. It appeals to me very much, but the situation has changed in this House and the country. A national government—the Leader of the Opposition said—does not mean democratic majority government. I quite understand. It was explained although the word 'national' is misleading. However, we won't argue about that. We always find Congress resolutions are passed, then commentators like Mayukha and Mitakshara and so forth come forward and then the commentators go on commenting, till you have forgotten the original text of it! No doubt, we have high authorities as commentators. They said, by a national Government they mean a composite Government. Am

I correct?

MR. BHULABHAI J. DESAI: Yes.

MR. M. A. JINNAH: Coalition if you like; it means the cabinet will be from all parties.

MY. BHULABHAI J. DESAI: What Mr. Amery said—the Government in England—at least that was his comparison.

MR. M. A. JINNAH: Mr. Amery has also said, you cannot have government like they have in England, in the same speech. Mr. Amery has said this also,—"India cannot be unitary in the sense that we are in this *Island*, but she can still be a unity. India's future house of freedom has room for many mansions." Mr. Amery has said that also. Is the first part of the resolution gone then? You do not want a declaration—a declaration for immediate complete independence and freedom with a right to the people of India to freedom, a constitution by a constituent assembly. Is that gone or does it remain?

MR. M. S. ANEY: One comment said, it was the right to a declaration.

MR. M. A. JINNAH: You are asking the *British Government* to make a declaration of independence here and now.

MR. M. S. ANEY: I am giving the commentary of Mr. Rajagopalacharya on that.

MR. M. A. JINNAH: That is just the trouble. (Interruption). Another commentary.

But I say, sir, if the Congress have got a definite practical proposal to make, we are willing to consider, but not the one that they have made because we have repeatedly said, I have said it, the League said so in the resolutions—that the demand is nebulous and far from practical and highly detrimental to the vital interests of Muslim India.

In the first instance, I do not believe for a single moment that any power can declare any other country or a nation independent, by a mere declaration. And I say no power can continue the subjugation of people of another country

if the people of that other country are fit to throw off the yoke. It is not a matter of declaration. If you believe in complete independence, I would honour you ; stick to your guns, then there is nothing to negotiate with the British Government, nothing to negotiate. What is the use of asking them, let me first have a constituent assembly and that constituent assembly will frame the constitution? What have they got to do with this constitution? Are they to have the honour and privilege of putting this constitution which will be framed by your constituent assembly on the statute book of Britain? What for? They have nothing to do here. Say so. Let us appeal to the country if you like, let us take the verdict of the country. But if you mean, as I do, the transfer of substantial power immediately and for that purpose it is the British Government and the British Parliament that can, by enacting a statute on their statute book, transfer that power and vest that power in the representatives of the people of this country, then I can understand. There is the basis then for negotiation.

If you drop your first part and if you mean a composite government, responsible to the elected members of this Legislature, provisionally, then let us not lose our sense of proportion. I say to the Honourable gentlemen of the Congress Party, we are in danger, say what you like. We cannot be indifferent now. If you really have a practical proposal which can be accepted by all reasonable parties, why don't you adopt the correct channel, the proper procedure, the proper method? What is the use of addressing them? What is the use of despatching it to the *Daily Herald*? Well, they cannot make up their mind. Mr. Rajagopalacharya has made a "sporting offer." Now, we have been told day in day out even by the able and competent gentlemen of the press here, the army of them that I see : what is this? Mr. Rajagopalacharya's sporting offer is

also not considered. But where is the offer ? What does Mr. Rajagopalacharya say? May I read the few lines in which he has compressed this offer. He says : "In answer to Mr. Amery's difficulty as to the minorities, I may make a sporting offer that if his Majesty's Government agree to a provisional national Government being formed at once, I shall undertake to persuade my colleagues in the Congress to agree to the Muslim League being invited to nominate the Prime Minister and to let him form a national Government as he would consider best..."

Now, sir, why does he not invite the prospective Prime Minister to have a talk with him, instead of firing it off to the *Daily Herald* and saying "I will persuade my colleagues of the Working Committee to do this, that and the other?" I do ask my Honourable friends—is this business? And to-day Mr. Rajagopalacharya justifies why he did not make that offer to the Muslim League. I tell you, I cannot restrain my utter astonishment and amazement as to how that mind works. It is impossible to understand it. This is what he says to-day. I shall only refer to that portion which relates to this subject. The other parts have nothing to do with it. Of course he has paid us a compliment that the Muslims were more ardent for independence than others. I am very glad.

SIR SYED RAZA ALI : When did you discover that?

MR. S. SATYAMURTI : Before you did.

MR. M. A. JINNAH : The point is this. He says, that "the British Government did not take any notice of the 'sporting offer' and some critics suggested that it should have been made to Mr. Jinnah and not to the British Government." But the offer was not made to the British Government even though I admit that the British Government have taken note of it. "It would in his opinion have been improper to make it to Mr. Jinnah in the first instance. Mr. Jinnah would then have had legitimate ground for con-

sidering it an insult and retorting that he was not after jobs." I ask if Mr. Amery had accepted this offer and then if that offer had been made to me, would it not have been open to the same retort, because it is the same offer and the terms are the same? I would have according to Mr. Rajagopalacharya, said, "both Mr. Amery and Mr. Rajagopalacharya have combined and are insulting me and that I am not here for jobs." Do give some credit to other people at least for commonsense. Is this really the explanation? [An Honourable Member: Read the latter portion also.] I am quite willing to read the other part. He says: "Assuming that Mr. Jinnah accepted the offer, it would not be in the speaker's power to implement it unless there was the prior commitment by the British Government to part with power." His argument is,—if I had accepted it, it was not in his power to implement it. It may not be in his power to implement nor is it in my power to implement, but the latest and authoritative pronouncement of the British Government is this: "If you can put your heads together and bring about some agreement we are willing to consider it." Then what is the use of making this offer to Mr. Amery over the head of the Muslim League? [An Honourable Member: We can agree provided they are willing to part with power]—I do not think they have ever gone the length that you want to go but they have said this: we are willing immediately to associate the representatives of the political parties and to give them an effective and important share in the Government of India by the proposal of the expanded Executive Council.

Surely that is not the last word. In fact the last word is never spoken in politics. Now if you really think they must give you beforehand the blank cheque that Mr. Gandhi has been giving me for the last 25 years, it is useless. Why not you and I meet and put our heads together? If you make a practical proposition, we present a common

united demand to Mr. Amery or for the matter of that to the British Parliament or the British nation if you like. [An Honourable Member: No response from the Congress Party.]

The constituent assembly is not a panacea for all the ills of India, nor complete independence. My complaint is—then you do not stick to that. Godspeed: stick to it, honestly; I may agree with you or I may not agree with you, but you will command my admiration and respect; stick to it; and if you do not want to stick to it, then come down on earth and let us deal as practical men, and face the realities, as Mr. Bhulabhai Desai says, and do not allow others to take advantage—as the *Manchester Guardian*—a British journal—says, "Frankly, our power and position in India is due to the mistake of the others, and it will continue if you go on making this mistake." The position is this. I am only dealing with the present; I am not dealing with the future.

There is one last sentence and I will finish. When we talk of this little innocent baby which is put forward, *viz.*, the demand for a national Government responsible to the elected members of this Legislature, there are far-reaching implications when you examine it in detail—far-reaching implications. It will mean fundamental alterations and changes in the constitution in order to constitute that cabinet; and when that cabinet is constituted, it will be responsible to the elected members of the Legislature. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai thtoughout his speech only emphasised two things: Democracy, democracy, democracy and a national Government! What is the use? Whatever that cabinet may be, will be responsible to this Legislature—in which Mr. Bhulabhai Desai can command two-thirds of the elected members. I will pity the man who happens to be in that cabinet and does not obey the Congress command and the Congress mandate!

Speech at Karachi on 15th December, 1940, exposing the designs of the Congress Party and the real motive of the Satyagraha movement.

FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES

The failure of the Viceroy's and Mr. Amery's efforts is due to the weak, vacillating and indecisive policy of the British Government, declared Mr. Jinnah.

Mr. Jinnah added, Mr. Gandhi's, the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha's demands not only involve immediate fundamental constitutional changes of a far-reaching character but have for their basic principle avowedly the domination of a permanent Hindu majority even for the formation of a provisional Government. If the British Government surrenders to those demands, it means that the Muslims and other minorities must come under the yoke of the Congress and act according to and submit to the will of the Congress.

Continuing Mr. Jinnah said that our resistance and refusal to accept that position is totally misrepresented and unjustly characterised as claiming a veto. We are asked to play a game the rules of which are to be framed by the Congress with a loaded dice. This position we cannot accept.

SATYAGRAHA

Mr. Jinnah proceeded: The present position is that Mahatma Gandhi instead of negotiating has resorted to satyagraha and is holding the pistol of satyagraha. The Hindu Mahasabha is seriously considering how soon they should resort to satyagraha if their demands are not satisfied by the British Government and yet the Muslim League on behalf of the Muslims—because it urges and points out that it cannot accept the position of a minority and that it must have an equal share in order to secure full, whole-hearted

and enthusiastic support of Muslim India in the prosecution of the war successfully—is considered in certain quarters as adopting an uncompromising attitude, and we are daily misrepresented by false and vigorous propaganda of our opponents. This is not going to unnerve us. We know our cause is right and just. No amount of propaganda can succeed on the foundation of falsehood and misrepresentation.

Concluding Mr. Jinnah emphasised, our only course is we must organise ourselves and stand united.

Birthday Message, 24th December, 1940

[On the eve of his 64th Birthday on December 25, 1940, Mr. Jinnah issued the following message in which he emphasised the need for a constructive programme and specially appealed to the Muslim students and the educated classes to take part in the constructive work.]

I appreciate very much, indeed, the concern that the Muslims of India have shown me personally on the occasion of my birthday and all their support to the policy of the All-India Muslim League. It is, indeed, a source of very great encouragement to me. We have now been working for more than three years and our achievements in the political field have been most encouraging. Hitherto, we have been considered as a mere minority scattered and unorganised, but now we have proved that we are united and a nation as well as any other nation of the world. We have now to prove to the world that we are fit to govern and achieve our goal as laid down by the Lahore resolution of the All-India Muslim League, popularly known as Pakistan. Our organisation, which is undoubtedly the only authoritative and representative body of the Muslims of India, has given us a flag, a platform, a programme and a cherished goal, which we are determined to fight for and, if necessary,

to die for. But we have yet to do many things before we can achieve our political emancipation.

I would, therefore, appeal to our people to organise themselves and keep themselves prepared. The time has come when we should extend our activities to other aspects of life. We should take up constructive programmes for the betterment of our people, educationally, socially, economically and physically.

I would specially appeal to the Muslim students and the intelligentsia to be up and doing. The prosperity and advancement of a nation depend upon its intelligentsia, and Muslim India is looking forward to her young generation and the educated classes to give a bold lead for our guidance and a brilliant record of historical achievements and traditions. Islam expects every Muslim to do his duty, and if we realise our responsibility time will come soon when we shall justify ourselves worthy of a glorious past.

Statement issued to the Associated Press on Sind situation, on 25th December, 1940.

[A ministerial crisis was brought about in Sind by the machinations of the Congress Party, the aim being to reduce the Muslim League to a position of nullity. Referring to the crisis Mr. Jinnah explained the position of the Muslim League and stressed the need of organising the League Party inside the legislature and strengthening the League organisation in the province.]

The recent resolutions of the Sind Provincial Muslim League have directed organisation of the Muslim League inside and outside the Legislature, and they made it clear that Muslims will not accept a measure which purports to introduce a system of joint electorates for local boards and municipalities for reasons already given. It is against the resolution of the All-India Muslim League and it is an All-

India question and, therefore, no province has any right to come to a decision or any agreement contrary to the resolution of the All-India Muslim League without their sanction. I hope the Sind Assembly and the Government will not force the issue at this juncture. There are many more vital matters which are awaiting Sind to take up as a real, solid, constructive and ameliorative programme of legislation for the betterment and uplift of the people of this province.

CONGRESS AIM

I tried to understand the Sind situation during my stay in Karachi and I had many opportunities of meeting various people belonging to all communities in Sind and also prominent Muslim and Hindu leaders, and I gather that the Congress, with the support of small clique behind it, is determined at any cost and irrespective of the consequences to this province to prevent the Muslim League organising itself as a party within the Legislature and functioning outside in harmony and co-operation with Hindus both inside and outside the Legislature. One aim of the Congress in this province seems particularly to create disruption and disunity between Muslims, although a large body of Hindus disapprove of it and in fact are opposed to such manœuvres. This is most unfortunate and, what is more, it is perfectly futile and will not succeed. There is not the slightest doubt that Muslims are solidly behind the Muslim League in this province and Hindus of this province will not encourage or support these machinations of the Congress. I sincerely hope that thoughtful and better mind of Hindus will work together with Muslims peacefully and for a real advance and betterment of the people of this province. I am confident and it is obvious that nothing on earth will prevent the Muslim League being organised, and why should

not the Muslim League organise itself? There is a Congress party in the Assembly, and outside there is a Hindu party. What is wrong in the Muslims organising themselves and establishing a party in the Legislature and augmenting and strengthening the Muslim League outside the Legislature? I sincerely hope that in the paramount interests of this province better counsels will prevail.

Speech at Ahmedabad, explaining the implications of the Pakistan scheme, 28th December, 1940

[On his way back from Karachi, Mr. Jinnah visited Ahmedabad and addressed meetings. In this speech Mr. Jinnah explained the implications of the Pakistan scheme and the proposal of the national government at the centre.]

India should be partitioned so that Hindus and Muslims may live as *friends* and good neighbours and develop according to their own genius, declared Mr. M. A. Jinnah addressing a crowded public meeting under the auspices of the Muslim Students Union in the Mangaldas Memorial Hall.

UNITARY GOVERNMENT IDEA DEAD

He said that if the Hindus tried to get the whole of India, they would lose the whole, but if they gave one-third to the Muslims they would get two-thirds. The Muslim minorities in the Hindu provinces would put up with their fate, but they would not stand in the way of Muslim majority provinces becoming free. Mr. Jinnah did not ask the Muslims in the Hindu majority provinces to migrate *en masse* to Pakistan when it was established.

What he wanted was that over the Muslim majority provinces where there was already in existence Pakistan, there should be no control of a central Government with a Hindu majority. The idea of a unitary central Government was dead, but if it was revived the Muslims would resist it, as the Hindu minorities in the Muslim provinces would make it impossible for the Government to run with the aid of the central Government with the Hindu majority at their back, and the Muslim majority would be virtually feudatories of the central Government in all respects.

HINDU RAJ

Proceeding, Mr. Jinnah said that the Hind Mahasabha openly and bluntly stood for Hindu raj over the entire subcontinent. The Congress talked of democracy, joint electorates and a national Government responsible to the elected members of the Legislature. Democracy did not exist anywhere in the world in the strict sense of the word. Even in England it was the ruling class *that governed*, but in India even such a democracy was not possible. There was nothing in common between Hindus and Muslims socially and culturally, to say nothing about religion. Where was the substance of a nation and expression of national will upon which even the diluted so-called democracy that obtained in England could be adopted in India?

MUSLIMS AND NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Continuing Mr. Jinnah said that a national Government responsible to the elected members of the Legislature at the Centre could only be formed at the dictate of the permanent Hindu majority, and the Muslims and other small minorities would entirely be at the mercy of Hindu raj. Mr. Jinnah wondered whether Mr. Gandhi would be happy over such a

state of things. Even two brothers in a joint family had many a time found it impossible to live together and partition had restored peace and better relations between them. Why should they be denied division of India when they knew and were convinced that they could not live peacefully having regard to the far more vital differences and antagonism in culture, religion and social life than ever could exist between two brothers of the same family ?

Statement to press regarding interview with Dr. Mukerjee, 2nd January, 1941

[Dr. Radhakumud Mukerjee, Professor of History at the Lucknow University, interviewed Mr. Jinnah on the subject of the future constitution of India. Later Mr. Jinnah gave a gist of this interview to the *United Press.*]

PAPER SAFEGUARDS

Interviewed by the *United Press* as to the trend of discussion Mr. Jinnah said that in reply to Dr. Mukerjee's question whether the scheme for complete cultural autonomy for different communities guaranteed by the constitution would not meet Mr. Jinnah's point of view he told Dr. Mukerjee that so long as the Central Government was unitary it would be impossible to talk in terms of autonomy of units. He said : The question is not merely cultural but of political, economic and social problems which can only be solved according to our genius in our homelands, provided that they are independent States and in no way under the control of any centre for all India. Safeguards, constitutional or otherwise, will be of no use. So long as there is communal Hindu majority at the Centre, safeguards will remain on paper. Therefore I think of

nothing better or more suitable having regard to the conditions and realities than separation of Muslims in my proposed homelands.

MUTUAL DANGER

Questioned by Dr. Mukerjee if such independent Muslim States might with the help of other Muslim Powers be a danger to Hindu India, Mr. Jinnah said: The Muslims in such separated homelands in the first instance would be very foolish indeed to invite some other Muslim Power to rule over their homelands, government of which would be in their own hands. It is quite clear that tendency now is more towards territorial sovereignty as history and development of Muslim Sovereign Powers in the East and the Far East have recently shown. Therefore, on the contrary, I am sure that Hindu India will find Muslim India not only a friendly neighbour but will defend India against foreign invasion and in that case, so to say, Monroe Doctrine will come into action in the *interests of both* Hindu India and Muslim India. And in that sense I want to say that North-West Muslim Independent States should be counted as India's outposts on the frontier.

Speech at Bombay on 3rd January, 1941

[Addressing a meeting at Bombay Mr. Jinnah explained the scheme of partition of the country and the position of minorities.]

Reiterating the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan, Mr. M. A. Jinnah in an address to the Muslim Progress Society and Muslim Youth Majlis asked whether it was possible to have a unitary Central Government all over the sub-continent of India which would govern the 400 million

people. That system would have a proportion of three Hindus to one Muslim which would mean that the fiat and writ of the Hindus will be forced on all. Democracy and adult franchise in this country, situated as they were, would mean a Hindu raj.

NO DOMINATION

Explaining the scheme of Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah said that they were not out for dominating the whole of India and they had no machinations and designs to dominate the Hindus. What the Muslim League wanted was that the Muslims should have opportunity to have their own governments in the two zones which they considered as their homelands and develop their own culture. He wished godspeed to the Hindus to have their own governments in the other parts and develop according to their own genius.

WILLING TO FACE HIS FATE

Referring to the Muslims who would be in a minority in some of the provinces, Mr. Jinnah said that their position need not cause any alarm. He asked them whether by subjecting the six and a half crores of Muslims who were in a majority in those two zones to remain in a minority in an All-India unitary government the remaining two and a half crores of Muslims spread over the other provinces were going to be benefited. He was for his part, declared Mr. Jinnah, willing to face his fate in the province where he was in a minority, but would release Muslims who were in majority in the Pakistan from Hindu domination and remaining in perpetual minority.

BETTER ATMOSPHERE

Mr. Jinnah asserted that he had not yet heard any

genuine arguments advanced against the Pakistan scheme and said that by the consummation of Pakistan a better atmosphere would prevail in the country. Mr. Gandhi and the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha, he said, want the whole of India. They will never get it, but they will get probably two-thirds if they will not be greedy and give us one-third and be done with it.

MUSLIM STATUS RAISED

Earlier in his speech, Mr. Jinnah reviewed the progress of the Muslim League for the past few years and claimed that the League had raised the Muslims to dignity, strength and self-respect and had etnitled them to be recognised as one of the major parties in the discussion and consideration of any future constitution for this country.

Presidential Address delivered at the Special Pakistan Session of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation, on 2nd March, 1941.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

In the first instance, let me again thank you for the honour you have done me in asking me to preside over your deliberations in this Conference of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation. As I said, I felt that it was a call from the kindred spirit and I was only too glad to respond to that call. Next, I have been with you since the 1st of March, that is yesterday, and I have also watched your organisation of this Conference and your deliberations and let me most heartily congratulate you for the way in which you have organised this Conference. (Cheers.) I also wish to convey, not only to the young men here but to a large body of Muslims of Lahore and those who have come from different parts, that I really appreciate and feel happy that

the Muslims in the Punjab are now awake (cheers) and that there is a small band of young men who have tried very hard to organise this Conference of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation. But, I think, those who have worked for it, those who have laboured for it, must have the fullest satisfaction that their labours have borne fruit, and they are fully rewarded for their work. (Cheers).

Members of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation and ladies and gentlemen,—let me in the first instance, as the President of the Muslim League, give you some account as short as possible of the work that the All-India Muslim League has done during the last three years. The Muslim League as you know was in a moribund state in 1936 and the Muslims were dead. During the last three years, the Muslim League has organised the Muslims all over India to such an extent that it has been a matter not only of admiration but astonishment to those who are friends and those who are opponents. (Cheers.) It is a remarkable thing, when the history comes to be written, how within these three years the bulk of 90 million Muslims rallied round one platform and under one flag, a thing that you have never known in the history of the Muslims for the last 200 years. (Cheers.) It seems almost like a miracle that such a thing could have happened. All our enemies, all our opponents were fully confident and hoped in the idea that the Muslims will never unite, that they will quarrel; and in that hope their mission was to inculcate and cause disruptions and divisions amongst the Musalmans. To-day, let me tell you that they have now given up the efforts to create division and disruption amongst the Muslims. (Cheers.) I take only the latest instance of the Rohilkhand constituency seat for the Central Assembly. They were told that it was the Congress hold, the Hindu hold and that the last member who was elected was a Muslim but a Congressite Muslim. Well, I never indulge in a language which would in any way convey that I take delight in

the misfortune of anybody. (Applause.) The gentleman who was occupying the seat from the Rohilkhand constituency, I suppose, could not help obeying the High Command and had to perform individual *satyagraha* and as a result he was made the guest of his Majesty's House (laughter) for more than one year, and as a consequence which follows, I mean the legal consequence, he was unseated. But when we put up our candidate, Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, there was no Congress to be seen either on the land or on the horizon! (Laughter.) That is only one instance and there are many. But let us see what the Muslim League has done.

I think I am correctly stating that to-day the Muslim League has raised the Muslims of India to a dignity; it has raised the Muslims of India to have an honourable place in the affairs of this country and the national life of this country. It has created amongst Muslims, rank and file, a spirit of discipline. It has given the Muslims the most wanted self-respect and self-reliance. It has given the Muslim India a correct picture mirrored before you, a correct perspective of the grave issues which are affecting Muslim nation to-day. It has, therefore, to-day raised the prestige and the reputation of the Muslims of India to an extent which has gone beyond expectations, even my expectations and those of many of us. To-day the Muslim India is freed from the clutches of bureaucracy. Those people who were thrust upon the Muslims as leaders and who strutted about as leaders of the Muslims but were naturally in the bureaucratic camp, have become powerless. Those men who used to strut about with Gandhi cap on the Congress platform are helpless and can do nothing. (Cheers.) The Muslims have come into their own. They have rallied round their own platform and under their own flag and are going to pursue their policy in order to achieve the goal that we have laid down for ourselves. (Cheers.) Yet there is a great deal more to be done and, therefore, my appeal to you, young and old,

men and women, is that we must work.

Remember, you have got to achieve, in the first instance, the goal, namely, that you want Muslim India to be under our Government. That you have to achieve; and you cannot achieve that by merely passing resolutions. You realise, what it means. Of course, we have declared on hundreds of platforms that we are not a minority. Quite right, we are not a minority; although, much to my regret, I say that Hindu leadership is still harping on the same old story that we are a minority and that they are willing to give all the safeguards according to the principles laid down by the League of Nations. I read this formula to-day laid down by a great Hindu leader, who spoke at the Hindu Minorities Conference that was going on yesterday in this city. Let me tell my friends, the Hindu leaders, that the League of Nations is dead. (Cheers.) Don't you know that yet? Let me tell them, you are living at least a quarter of a century behind. Not only that, but you do not realise that the entire face of the world is being changed from week to week and from month to month in the European and other fields of battle. Cannot this conservative community, this exclusive community, modernise and change its intentions and views? But it is as clear as daylight that we are not a minority. We are a nation. (Cheers.) And a nation must have a territory. What is the use of merely saying that we are a nation? Nation does not live in the air. It lives on the land, it must govern land, and it must have territorial state and that is what you want to get. (Cheers.)

Remember, it is not a small job. It is the biggest job that you have ever undertaken in your life since the fall of the Moghal Empire. You realise that it requires all the necessary ingredients and preparation in order to achieve and realise that goal. You will allow me to say, do not be carried away by sentiments, do not be carried away by slogans. How is a

nation made? When it has fallen, how is a nation revived? These are the questions.

We come under the category of the fallen. We have seen the worst days, although I am glad that there is a distinct and definite revival and renaissance of the Muslim nation in this country. We, therefore, are now in this position. We are just awake. We are just opening our eyes. We have just got that consciousness when we are looking around. You are yet a sick man ; you are still an invalid : you have got to go through the convalescent period before you can become perfectly healthy, strong and go-about. How are you going to make your people come up to that stage and preparedness when you will be able to achieve your goal? There is no royal road. You must, my young friends, in the first instance, apply your minds to the nation-building departments. You will say, what is it? What are the nation-building departments? Let me tell you what they are. You see that there are at least three main pillars which go to make a nation worthy of possessing a territory and running the government.

One is education. Without education you are in the same position as we were in this pandal last night in darkness! With education you will be in the same position as you are in this broad daylight. Next, no nation and no people can ever do anything very much without making themselves economically powerful in commerce, trade and industry. And, lastly, when you have got that light of knowledge by means of education and when you have made yourselves strong economically, commercially and industrially, then you have got to prepare yourselves for your defence—defence against external aggression and to maintain internal security. Therefore, these are the three main pillars upon which a nation rests and the strength of the nation remains in proportion to your readiness and your preparedness with these three main pillars. To-day in these three main pillars

you are at the bottom of the class. Educationally there is a great deal of leeway to be made up. Economically and financially the Muslim is poverty-stricken and on the verge of bankruptcy all over India. As to the defence even the little opportunities that are available under the present system of government the Muslims are very poor in numbers. Therefore, my young friends, I see you have got some resolutions which are very good resolutions indeed. You want to take up some of these matters alone with your people. Here is the programme for you. Do not talk merely in a language, what shall I say, of bravado or arrogance, because I am convinced that we have no need to talk in that language, and we have no need to talk in a language of threats. Why? Because, to begin with, our cause is honest, just and a right one. That is the first reason. The second reason is that those who are strong and those who have acquired self-confidence and self-reliance do not need to indulge in unnecessary threats and arrogant language.

Let us, therefore, try as far as possible to reason and to persuade our opponents. Of course, I know that our reasoning and all our persuasion do not always succeed, but we must make every possible effort. Let us not create unnecessary bitterness against those who are at present the opponents of this Lahore Pakistan resolution. Why should we? I am confident that those very opponents of ours will realise that this is the only solution and the best solution of India's most complex problem for which there is no parallel in the world. Our opponents, wherever they may be, and the three forces and parties in this country other than Muslims, who are concerned with our Lahore resolution—the British Government, the Indian princes and the Hindus, let me tell you that it is in the interests of these three important and vital elements in the sub-continent of India, and they will themselves realise that what we are saying is the only solution. I will tell you why, later on.

Therefore I do not want to go away from my point. If you want to achieve your goal in the shortest and quickest manner then build up the foundations of your nation in the manner which I have described.

The next thing I want to tell you, ladies and gentlemen, is this. We have got two questions before us. One is the question of the present and the next question is of the future.

Now so far as the present is concerned let me report to you what the position of the Muslim League is. You know, a great struggle is going on in more than one continent of the world. In this war you know that the British Government is vitally involved. You know, rightly or wrongly, according to the present position and the constitution under which we are ruled, India is a belligerent country. India is now at the present moment under the British rule. India therefore is involved in this war. India therefore has to make all the efforts it can for the intensification of war effort. Now, whatever may be our complaints or our grievances against the British Government, we realise that India also is in danger. It may be our misfortune, but whatever your sentiments and your feelings you cannot get away from the central fact that India is also in danger and therefore in our own interests we cannot put any difficulties in those war efforts which are made for the purpose of strengthening and augmenting the defence of India. We also do not wish that Great Britain should be embarrassed in any way. I am not holding a brief on behalf of the British Government, nor do I believe in the sentimental or emotional considerations. That being so, the Muslim League was willing even to support and wholeheartedly co-operate with the British Government, provided that it was agreed that not only we should take the burden and the responsibility on our heads but along with the responsibility and the burden which we were willing to undertake we maintained that, within the present

framework of the constitution, the Muslim League representatives must have real and substantial authority in the Government both at the centre and in the provinces (cheers) in order to be able to give real and effective help. How can we take up the responsibility and burden as to the disposition of our men when we have no voice in the Government and we cannot share in the disposition of our army? How can we take up the responsibility and the burden of the expenditure of millions and crores when we have no voice and no share in the authority that is entitled to spend that money? How are we going to take that responsibility and discharge it without power and control in the Government? The principle was even accepted by the British Government and it is not denied; but when it came to be translated Lord Linlithgow or Mr. Amery, or both, I do not know who is responsible, came out with a little mouse and said, 'we will give you two seats in the Executive Council' without any more details! (Laughter.) That was nullifying in its very inception and trifling at the very commencement with the principle which was so boldly and so wisely and so generously laid down. This offer, as you know, could not be accepted by any responsible organisation—and was rejected by the All-India Muslim League.

That is all about the present. Now, we come to the future. As regards future, ladies and gentlemen, I have tried my very best to give every possible attention, and as far as possible, bereft of any bias or prejudice and as far as it is humanly possible I have tried to examine the arguments against the Lahore resolution. So far as we are concerned, we stand by the Lahore resolution (cheers) and we want it as soon as circumstances permit or immediately after the war. That is what we want. Our demand is not from Hindus because the Hindus never took the whole of India. It was the Muslims who took India and ruled for 700 years. It was the British who took India from the Musalmans. So,

we are not asking the Hindus to give us anything. Our demand is made to the British, who are in possession. It is an utter nonsense to say that Hindustan belongs to the Hindus. They also say that Muslims were Hindus at one time. These nonsensical arguments are advanced by their leaders. They say, supposing an Englishman become a Muslim in England, he does not ask for Pakistan. Have you not got eyes to see and don't you have brains to understand that an Englishman, if he changes his religion in England, he, by changing his religion, still remains a member of the same society, with the same culture, same social life and everything remains exactly the same when an Englishman changes his faith? But can't you see that a Muslim, when he was converted, granted that he was converted more than a thousand years ago, bulk of them, then according to your Hindu religion and philosophy, he becomes an outcaste and he becomes a *malechia* (untouchable) and the Hindus ceased to have anything to do with him socially, religiously and culturally or in any other way? He, therefore, belongs to a different order, not only religious but social, and he has lived in that distinctly separate and antagonistic social order, religiously, socially and culturally. It is now more than a thousand years that the bulk of the Muslims have lived in a different world, in a different society, in a different philosophy and a different faith. Can you possibly compare this with that nonsensical talk that mere change of faith is no ground for a demand for Pakistan? Can't you see the fundamental difference? Now, therefore, I do not think really that any honest man can possibly dispute the fact that the Muslims are a nation by themselves, distinctly separate from the Hindus. Suppose they are, and I have no doubt in my mind. There are hundreds and hundreds of Hindus who honestly think so and there are hundreds of Hindus who believe in this and who have come to me and who have often said that this is the only solution, *viz.*, the

Lahore resolution. Therefore, it is no use arguing this point any further. But how is the propaganda carried on against it? The propaganda is carried on and, as I have told you, I have tried to understand the arguments against it, without any prejudice as far as it is possible for a human being to do so. What is the argument?

I will start with Mr. Gandhi. He says that it is a vivisection of India. It gives you at once a feeling of horror. Is it really to frighten the Muslims not to commit the vivisection of India? It is really to frighten the Hindus that their motherland is vivisected by these wretched Muslims! (Cheers.) Here is a question among various questions that may arise. May I know when was India one? Was it ever one? Why use this word 'vivisection'? Then his disciple Mr. Rajagopalacharya goes one step further and says—and he started by saying that it was cutting the baby into two. I say to him, my dear fellow, where is the baby who is going to be cut into two? He was not satisfied with that and he thought that it was not enough and then he went further and said that it is when two Hindu brothers are quarrelling, one wants to cut the mother cow into two halves! Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have always very great respect for the religious feelings and sentiments of any community. (Applause.) But if a foremost politician of the type of Mr. Rajagopalacharya should rouse the feelings, the religious feelings of the Hindus, by giving this analogy that I was proposing to cut the mother cow into two, it can only be described as a forlorn hope on their part when they have no other cogent argument to advance. Then we were told that it is against Islam! (Laughter).

Ladies and gentlemen,—I am not a learned Maulana or Maulvi. Nor do I claim to be learned in theology. But I also know a little of my faith and I am a humble and proud follower of my faith. (Cheers.) May I know in the

name of Heavens, how is this Lahore resolution against Islam? Why is it against Islam? But that is an argument that has been advanced again by a man of no less a position than Mr. Rajagopalacharya.

Next, we are told that it is not in the interests of Muslims themselves! I say to my Hindu friends, please do not bother about us. (Cheers.) We thank you most profusely for pointing out to us our mistake and unwise decision and telling us that it is not in our interests! We are prepared to take the consequences of our well-considered resolution. Please look after yourselves. The next argument is that it is economically not a practical scheme. I have been watching, and believe me I tried to read anything that has been said by Hindu leaders anywhere—I may have missed it somewhere—I have not yet heard barring the slogan that economically it is not a practical proposition, because Punjab is a bankrupt province, Sind is a bankrupt province, Baluchistan is zero, North-West Frontier Province is a bankrupt province and therefore economically it is not a practicable scheme. Why not? Can't you see that at present the main source of revenue, the bulk of revenue of this continent, is in the hands of the Centre? If there is a partition, if there are independent zones, as we are defining, then those zones will get for themselves the revenue direct and it will not go to the centre, because there will be no centre for India. Why do you bother about this? If the worse comes to the worse, like a sensible man we will cut our coat according to our cloth.

Next, what about the Hindu minorities in the Muslim zones? What about it? What do you suggest? They do not suggest anything. What about the Muslim minority in the Hindu zones? But I have suggested something. I say that my proposal is that Hindu minority in the Muslim zone must be safeguarded fully as a minority and I say that the Muslim minority in the Hindu zone must be safeguard-

ed fully as a minority. What do you suggest? Do you suggest as an argument that because the Hindu minority or minorities in the Muslim zones will be minorities, therefore the 90 millions of Muslims should remain as a minority in an artificial "one India" with unitary form of central Government, so that you can dominate over them all including those zones where they are in a solid majority? That is an absurd and a very misleading argument, which is advanced in some quarters.

Then we are told—and this is of course not often that is brought out—we are told lastly that if India is divided then the Muslims will run over the whole country (laughter) and the Hindus will not be safe! My dear friends, you will be at least 200 million Hindus in India, if not more, and the poor Muslims in the North-West zone and the Eastern zone will not be more than 70 millions. Are you afraid that if these 70 millions of Muslims are allowed in their own homelands to fully and freely function and develop according to their own genius, according to their own laws and according to their own culture, social life and religion; and if they become independent states, do you say that you are afraid that these 70 millions will run over the whole of the country? Then, may I ask the question, how will you then avoid the danger of these 90 millions running over the whole country by having a paper constitution of united India? Do you want a paper constitution of united India when 90 millions of—what shall I say—dangerous people will be there? Then do you want that the British Government should police the Hindu raj in this country, (cheers) so that you can gradually, slowly but surely strangulate the Muslims with the help of the British bayonet? Is that what you want? (Hear, hear.) I ask my Hindu friends and those leaders, can you conceive that the British people and the British nation will degrade themselves and dishonour themselves to remain here and police your raj and with

their boyonet allow you to strangle the Muslims in this country? (Cheers). Then what do you want? That is the question. Now I say, if the Hindus want peace, please examine our proposals impartially and honestly. Give up all these slogans, these catchwords, these stunts: you will never succeed. Let us, therefore, examine it dispassionately and as practical men in the light of history and various constitutions prevailing in various countries, and I feel that partition will be really in the best interests of all of us – not only the Muslims but also the Hindus and the ruling Princes and the British.

Now I have examined almost every argument that has been advanced so far. If we are agreed on the partition of India, let me tell you, and I firmly believe and it is supported by reason, the Muslims and Hindus will live peacefully and as friendly neighbours. I assure you and it seems to me obvious that Muslim India will constitute the post-guard of the frontiers of India. Do you think for a single moment that Afghanistan will allow Iran to govern Afghanistan? Do you for a moment think that Afghanistan or Iran will allow Turkey to rule over them? Do you for a single moment think that even in Arabia—a small continent like Arabia—where you have different sovereign states of Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and so on—that even in the small continent like Arabia, any one of them will give up their sovereign territorial government in favour of anybody else? Why must you assume that when the Muslims have established their own independent sovereign state in the North-West zone, somebody else will be allowed to come over and rule over us, because he must rule over me before he rules over Hindu India? Therefore Muslim India will guard so far as the frontier is concerned and I hope the Hindus will guard so far as the South and Western India is concerned. (Cheers.) We join together as good friends and neighbours and say to the

world " hands off India." (Cheers.) I say there is an opportunity which is presented to India at this juncture in the history of our people which if lost may not come again for a long time. Let us be practical and face facts and put our heads together and find a solution of this problem on the lines of Pakistan. It is no use threatening people ; it is no use saying this word Pakistan is " misused by some people " (Cheers). Every intelligent man in this country knows and understands what we mean by Pakistan. If there is any mischief-maker, who wants to create mischief, God alone can stop him : I cannot stop him. Everybody who has got any intelligence, who is honest, understands perfectly well what we mean when we say Pakistan : we mean the Lahore resolution. (Cheers).

There is one other matter to which I would like to refer, and that is with regard to the great Sikh community. Ladies and gentlemen,—it is somewhat difficult to understand why some of our Sikh friends entertain fears and apprehensions. I do ask them to examine this proposal carefully and calmly. The position of the Sikh community will be far, far better in the scheme that we are suggesting—in the Lahore resolution—than their position in the united India federal constitution. Is it not obvious, in the first instance, that the Sikhs will form an important community in the Punjab, and as an important community in the Punjab will they not play a very big part in the affairs of the province of the Punjab in any legislature that may be constituted for Punjab as one of the units of Pakistan ? Will they not play an equally big part in the Pakistan federation being an important community in this province? What will be their position in the united India federal constitution ? It will be a drop in the ocean ! (Cheers.) It is so even to-day. Let me tell my Sikh friends, if they can hear my voice, that even to-day in the present Legislature the Sikhs do not count for anything. What can one man do out of a

hundred? What will one member do when you have got 350 members and you have got two or three members? Not only you will be nowhere but you will be a drop in the ocean under the scheme of a united India. My Sikh friends cannot escape the inexorable rule that they are a minority in the Punjab and must remain a minority in the Punjab and you cannot by quarrelling, you cannot by threats and intimidation reverse the fundamental order that the Muslims are a majority in this zone. (Cheers.) I want to tell my Sikh friends that my position in my presidency will be, according to their fears, if I believe in them, hundred times worse, because in my presidency we are only 8 per cent Muslims and the remaining nearly 90 per cent are Hindus, whereas in this province the Sikhs are 13 per cent. while there is another community, Hindus, who are 28 per cent. Therefore, you will be better off than I am in the Bombay Presidency, yet I am not afraid! (Cheers). Therefore, I do want people really to examine these facts and their pros and cons.

There is only one thing more which I want to say and it is this. It is quite obvious that no federal constitution was ever framed or enacted without the agreement and consent of the units entering into the federal scheme of their own free will and accord. The only solution for the Muslims of India, which will stand the test of trial and time, is that India should be partitioned so that both the communities can develop freely and fully according to their own genius economically, socially, culturally and politically. The struggle is for the fullest opportunities and for the expression of the Muslim national will. The vital contest in which we are engaged is not only for the material gain but also for the very existence of the soul of Muslim nation. Hence I have said often that it is a matter of life and death to the Musalmans and is not a counter for bargaining. Muslims have become fully conscious of this. If we lose in the

struggle all is lost. Let our motto be, as the Dutch proverb says,—

'Money is lost nothing is lost ;
Courage is lost much is lost ;
Honour is lost most is lost ;
Soul is lost all is lost.'

(Loud applause.)

Speech at the Muslim University Union, Aligarh, on March 10, 1941.

[Mr. M. A. Jinnah was accorded a most enthusiastic reception at a meeting held under the auspices of the Muslim University Union in the Strachey Hall on the 10th March 1941. After the Vice-President of the Union had welcomed him in a short speech, Mr. Jinnah rose to address the gathering.]

PAKISTAN IDEAL

Mr. Jinnah began by expressing his warmest thanks for the deep affection and regard shown to him by the Aligarh students. Proceeding, he said that when he addressed them last year, the Lahore resolution, popularly known as Pakistan, had not been passed, but he had noticed that they were anxious for the declaration of the ideal embodied in the Lahore resolution. In other parts of India he had noticed the same feeling. What I have done, said Mr. Jinnah, is to declare boldly what was stirring the heart of Muslim India. The whole Hindu press, Hindu leaders and the Congress got hysterical about it. They raised a storm of opposition ; but all the press propaganda, vituperation, mis-

representation and hysterical outbursts have not changed our position. I have asserted on numerous occasions that the democratic parliamentary system of government as they have in England and other Western countries is entirely unsuited to India. I was condemned in the Congress press as an enemy of India's freedom! But the truth of the statement is gradually dawning on the minds of all thinking persons.

TWO PILLARS

The British policy in India has been based so far on two pillars, namely, India should be taken as a single unit and secondly the democratic system of the Western brand should be the basis of the Indian constitution. But the Musalmans of India have established it beyond all shadow of doubt that they are not a minority in the accepted sense of the term; they are a nation if ever there was a nation in India. Even Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, is forced to recognise that the ninety million Musalmans of India have to be treated as a separate constituent factor and not a mere numerical minority and that no constitution to which they take exception can be forced on them. Let me tell you that to day the pillar of India being a single unit is not only broken but completely destroyed. *(Loud cheers).* The next pillar was democracy. Let us see what they think of democracy in Europe itself; then we can understand what it means in India. Mr. Jinnah quoted passages from H. G. Wells and Salvador de Madariaga to show how democracy was breaking down in Europe. Under cover of democracy the aristocracy and the leisured classes rule. Still, if democracy was successful to any appreciable extent in Western countries, specially England, it was due to some special conditions. Democracy worked in a country where there is one nation and one society. The people of England truly con-

stitute one nation. Their interests and views on the fundamentals of life are common. Even the diluted democracy that we find in England is unknown in any country of the world where there are two nations and two societies. In India under democracy a permanent and perennial majority of necessity dominates over a society in minority. There is no instance in the world of two nations being yoked under a unitary constitution. We have seen from actual experience that the British parliamentary system of government results in the establishment of complete Hindu domination over all others in India. The Muslims and other minorities are rendered absolutely powerless without any hope of achieving a share of power under the constitution.

FACING REALITIES

In every thing that is fundamental and essential to life Hindus and Muslims differ. It is no use shutting one's eyes to realities. Among Hindus themselves there are schisms and exclusive castes and sub-castes. Between them they make a most undemocratic society, yet they have suddenly fallen in love with democracy. They talk of nothing else but democracy. (Laughter.) In Bombay recently a swimming bath on the seashore was opened for the exclusive use of the Hindus. They are not prepared to swim with the Muslims even in the sea. I do not want to ridicule the feelings of the Hindus. I respect everyone's religious feelings. I am only referring to these things to show how deep is the difference between the Hindus and the Muslims. It would be no wisdom to proceed to build for India a constitution on the assumption as if these differences did not exist. By ignoring the realities and the difficulties in the way of fitting India into a simple democratic system the Hindus will be doing the greatest harm to their own people. Democracy of the kind they want to impose on India is an

impossibility, for even the conditions which make diluted democracy possible in other countries are absent from India. The sooner the idea is given up the better.

INDEPENDENT STATES

It was therefore after mature consideration that we passed the Lahore resolution which advocates the establishment of independent sovereign states in regions of Muslim majority, namely, the North-West and the North-East of India and also provides for mandatory safeguards for minorities in the regional states and their units. Now it does not require a great genius or a great constitutionalist to understand the scheme of partition. Without waiting to consider the scheme on its merits the Congress and other Hindu circles became hysterical about it, as if it were a nightmare or some dangerous animal! (Laughter.) As a matter of fact, Pakistan has been there for centuries; it is there to-day, and it will remain till the end of the world (Cheers.) It was taken away from us; we have only to take it back. What is the title of the Hindus to it? How can we be prevented from claiming what is our own? It is really more in the interests of the Hindus themselves. What, after all, does the League say? Zones with clear Muslim majority are to be demarcated and allowed to establish independent states of their own with the necessary territorial readjustments. Under the scheme two-thirds of India goes to the Hinds where they can have their own states. They should be content with their due share. They can never have the whole of India. I can tell you that both in the British circles and the Congress circles it is being increasingly realised that the interests of the two nations would be best served by our scheme of partition.

BOGEY OF INVASION

The old slogans against Pakistan, such as vivisection of India, cutting mother India into two, and cutting the mother cow have been given up. They have now begun to ask whether they will be safe if India is partitioned. The Hindu press has raised the bogey that if India is partitioned the Muslims will overrun the entire country. It is a baseless insinuation. For if that is the Hindu fear, may I know how do they then propose to rule over the whole of India? In Pakistan there will be no more than seventy million Muslims. Hindu India will consist of no less than two hundred and twenty million Hindus. Do they mean to say that these 220 million people cannot hold their freedom against a mere seventy million? Then it is said that the future of India will not be safe, as all the invasions have come from the North-West of India, and that Pakistan itself will not be able to ward off such invasions. It is said that a united India, a democratic India, alone can withstand such attacks and, therefore, there should be a central democratic government of India. By having a central government and a majority in the ballot-box they think they can make the country safe from invasion. (Laughter.) Further, our Hindu friends ask the Muslim minorities as to how Pakistan was going to benefit them and that they would suffer at the hands of the Hindus. As for the invasions from the North-West, may I know where did the Portuguese come from? Where did the French come from, and where did our British masters come from? Was it through the Khyber Pass? They came from the coasts. But we know that, as a matter of fact, modern warfare knows no frontiers. The decisive weapon of modern war is the air-arm. The land and the sea powers have taken a secondary position. Let us, therefore, live as good neighbours; let the Hindus guard the South and West and let the Muslims guard the frontiers

We will then stand together and say to the world, "Hands off India; India for the Indians." (Cheers.)

MUSLIM MINORITIES

The second objection which concerns Muslim minorities has no force. As a self-respecting people we in the Muslim minority provinces say boldly that we are prepared to undergo every suffering and sacrifice for the emancipation and liberation of our brethren in regions of Muslim majority. By standing in their way and dragging them along with us into a united India we do not in any way improve our position. Instead, we reduce them also to the position of a minority. But we are determined that, whatever happens to us, we are not going to allow our brethren to be vassalised by the Hindu majority. But the fact is that the creation of these independent states will be the surest guarantee for the fair treatment of the minorities. When the time for consultation and negotiations comes the case of Muslims in the minority provinces will certainly not go by default.

BE PREPARED

Pakistan is not only a practicable goal but the only goal if you want to save Islam from complete annihilation in this country. We have yet to go a long way. Pakistan is there but we have to take it. It is easier to achieve freedom than to keep it. England and America are independent states but how hard they have to struggle to preserve their independence! We have to prepare ourselves. Make yourselves strong; prepare your people in education, trade, industries, commerce and defence. The problems before us will be how to maintain internal security and ward off external aggression. Freedom cannot be achieved or kept by the spinning of charkhas. We should be prepared to fight and defend our homes and the ideals we cherish. (Cheers.) The realisation

of Pakistan is in your hands. Though India is away from the actual theatre of war but a sort of war is going on even in India. I appeal to you : prepare yourselves and be ready for any emergency which may arise. Aligarh is the arsenal of Muslim India and you are its best soldiers. Go to the countryside. Educate our people and uplift them. Explain to our people what is our goal. There are many who are trying to mislead them. Let them understand things and then they will march on to their destined goal.

PRESTIGE RAISED

The Muslim League within recent years has rendered remarkable service to the Musalmans The League has raised their prestige and dignity so that to-day we have reached a stage when the Musalmans are recognised as a distinct political entity, entitled to their homeland and their state. We have to make a supreme effort to achieve our object. The Muslim League to-day is a power in spite of all the opposition and the machinations of the Congress and Mr. Gandhi. He came to see me only last year in Delhi. He came to Muslim India, for I am but the representative of Muslim India. (Cheers.) Was there any period since the establishment of the British Government in India when the Government treated Muslim India with such consideration and with a certain amount of fear also? The voice of the Muslim League has reached the farthest corners of the world, even China and America. What is this all due to? You have gone some steps in organising yourselves and consolidating your forces, and you have seen the results. But there is much leeway to be made up.

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

The time has now come to devote yourselves more and more to the constructive programme. I ask you to spend

your vacations in attending to constructive work, like the spread of literacy, social uplift, economic betterment and greater political consciousness and discipline among our people. We want to establish Muslim States in the North-West and the North-East of India, so that the peaceful and neighbourly relations may be maintained between Hindus and Muslims. This is the only way to restore lasting peace and happiness to the country. I have learnt from realiable sources that in responsible circles in England and even in Congress circles this scheme is being seriously considered. Let us, therefore, march on to our goal. The time comes, and when you are ready, I will tell you what to do. (Prolonged cheers.)

Speech at Cawnpore, 30th March, 1941.

[In March 1941, Mr. Jinnah visited Cawnpore and was accorded an unprecedented reception. At the meeting of the Muslim Students he dwelt on the question of Hindu-Muslim settlement and the Congress movement to deceive the Muslim youth. He also addressed the City Muslim League Conference.]

Addressing the first conference of the Cawnpore Muslim Students Federation, he said that for the last thirty years efforts had been made to bring about communal unity, but no settlement could be arrived at owing to the fact that the basis with which the Hindus and Hindu leaders started and the basis with which the Muslim leaders started for the purpose of negotiations were totally different. Hindus, he sad, started on the basis that the Muslims were a minority and as such they might be given necessary safeguards, whereas Muslims started on the basis that they were a separate entity, and as such they could come to no settlement. The Congress made this point clear when it came into power in seven provinces by treating the Muslims as a

minority. The Muslim League had, therefore, to formulate its goal which was done on March 23, 1940, at Lahore by passing a resolution about Pakistan. Continuing Mr. Jinnah said that the Congress had been deceiving Muslim youth by saying that it was fighting for the freedom of the country and that it was a national organisation.

CONGRESS FRAUD

Mr. Jinnah added that the Congress was not a national organisation but a " Fascist Grand Council " under a dictator who was not even a four-anna member of that body! The Congress fraud had now been exposed by the Muslim League. Since the arrival of Mahatma Gandhi in the Congress, an unfortunate element of spiritualism had been introduced in it. The result was that the Congress had been exposed as a communal organisation. It was a purely Hindu organisation, but Mr. Gandhi still obstinately claimed to speak on behalf of the whole of India.

Proceeding, Mr. Jinnah said that he was sure that the *Congress did not* represent anybody except the Hindus and not even all the Hindus. He referred to the Round Table Conference where he said that Mahatma Gandhi did not agree to allow 51 per cent representation to Muslims in the Punjab. When no adjustment could be made between the two communities, the Pakistan was devised. Speaking about the fate of Muslims in the non-Pakistan zone, Mr. Jinnah said that in order to liberate 7 crores of Muslims where they were in a majority he was willing to perform the last ceremony of martyrdom if necessary and let two crores of Muslims be smashed.

In a speech before the City League Conference, Mr. Jinnah expressed the view that the present policy of the Congress and the *satyagraha* movement would lead the Hindu community to the greatest disaster. He added that

the Congress and the Hindus should revise and review their policy towards the Muslims.

BANKRUPTCY OF STATESMANSHIP

After emphasising the necessity of establishing Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah referred to the present political deadlock and said that the responsibility for it lay on the British Government. Congress leadership, he pointed out, had gone mad and the Congress leaders had shown a bankruptcy of statesmanship.

Continuing, Mr. Jinnah said that the Muslim League had not only put no difficulties in preparations for the defence of the country but had repeatedly asked the Government to avail of their co-operation, provided the Government gave them substantial authority within the present framework of the constitution at the centre and in the provinces. He asked the Government not to care for those who did not co-operate in the defence measures and criticised the policy of the Government towards the Congress as being an attempt to placate it.

The conference concluded after passing a resolution endorsing the Pakistan scheme.

RAILWAY EMPLOYEES

A deputation of the East India Railway Muslim Employees Association waited on Mr. M. A. Jinnah to represent their difficulties in regard to service.

Replying Mr. Jinnah stated that the League Party had been fighting for these demands. Recently he had sent a memorandum on the subject to the Viceroy, who had replied that the matter would receive his consideration. Counselling patience, Mr. Jinnah concluded: I am waiting to see what the Government does, and I assure you we will see you through the end.

Presidential Speech delivered extempore at the Madras Session, All-India Muslim League, April, 1941.

[Mr. Jinnah's presidential speech at the Madras Session of the All-India Muslim League was delivered under extraordinary circumstances. Due to the strain of the journey from Bombay to Madras and the excessive heat of the South Mr. Jinnah became indisposed and could not speak on the first day of the session. But the next day, though still weak, Mr. Jinnah rallied remarkable strength and to the surprise of everyone, rose to the height of his oratorical powers and made a speech lasting wellnigh two hours which will go down as one of the most masterly and magnificent utterances. It was the pronouncement of a leader who was sure of his ground and who had steeled himself up against every kind of machination, calumny, vituperation, cajolery and intimidation—a leader who knows his own mind and the mind of his people and who also knows how to give expression to it lucidly, frankly, forcefully and fearlessly. In this speech Mr. Jinnah took in his sweep the entire gamut of the Indian political situation with pertinent references to the world situation. He elucidated beyond all shadow of doubt the goal, the ideology, and the policy of the Muslim League, surveyed the five-year progress of the League and its attitude towards the war situation, foreshadowed the next five-year plan, and made pointed and unerring criticism of the policy of the British Government and the policy and manœuvres of the Congress, the Mahasabha and the latest offshoot of the Congress, the Sapru Conference. The speech illustrates another quality of Mr. Jinnah—a feature all too rare in Indian leadership—namely, he means what he says and he says what he means. It is singularly free from sloppy sentimentality, vague verbosity and pontific sermonising. He speaks as one who knows both the strength and the shortcomings of his followers; his speech is a correct measure of the tempo, the tendency, the aspiration and the determination of the Muslim nation. No doubt the audience at Madras, numbering 100,000 strong, were electrified by his soul-moving yet eminently sensible speech.]

Let me tell you as clearly as I can possibly define it that the goal of the All-India Muslim League is this: We want the establishment of completely independent states in the North-West and Eastern zones of India, with full control finally of defence, foreign affairs, communications, customs, currency, exchange, etc. We do not want in any circum-

stances a constitution of an all-India character with one government at the Centre. We will never agree to that. If we once agree to that, let me tell you, the Muslims will be absolutely wiped out of existence. We shall never be tributaries of any power or any government at the Centre so far as the North-West and Eastern zones of our free national homelands are concerned.

In these words, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the twenty-eighth session of the All-India Muslim League Conference, explained the goal of the League when the conference resumed its session.

In an extempore speech in English lasting nearly two hours Mr. Jinnah dwelt on the achievements of the League during the last five years and its demand for Pakistan.

MR. JINNAH'S ADDRESS

Mr. Jinnah thanked all those who had made enquiries about his health by letter, phone or telegram and regretted his inability to answer them individually.

Taking stock of the internal progress and development of the League. Mr. Jinnah said that the first foundation for the revival of the League was laid almost exactly five years back in Bombay. During this period of five years—it was almost a "five-year plan"—they had succeeded in organising the League from one end of the country to the other in a remarkable manner. This, he said, was admitted on all hands. Since the fall of the Moghul Empire, Muslim India was never so well organised nor so alive and politically conscious as to-day. (Cheers.) They had established a flag, a platform, displaying and demonstrating the complete unity of the entire body of Muslims, and defined in the clearest language their goal—a goal about which Muslim India was formerly groping in the dark—the goal of Pakistan. (Cheers.) In this effort, he could not forget to appreciate what Muslims

in South India had done. Muslims in this province had many difficulties to encounter. He had maintained close touch with the districts of this province by post and telegram and watched the way the League had been organised here and the way it had grown in the province, not from the top but from the bottom. Only a year ago, this growth from the bottom had exploded the top and brought about complete harmony among Muslims throughout the presidency. He was convinced that the seven per cent of Muslims in this province had organised themselves under the banner of the League as no other province had organised itself. This was the five-year plan of the past.

ANOTHER FIVE-YEAR PLAN

What next ? That, Mr. Jinnah continued, was the question they had to face. They had succeeded in raising the prestige of the League not only throughout the country ; it had reached the farthest corners of the world. Their activities were followed and they were being watched throughout the world. But what next ? They were now at a most critical time and various forces were operating in and outside India. No one could succeed in anything unless he worked for it and worked hard for it. What was required of Muslims to-day, and particularly of the delegates gathered there, was that they should think of the future and devise another five-year plan. This could be no other than how best and how quickly to build up the departments of national life of Muslim India. These departments were fourfold and formed the four pillars supporting the structure.

The first of these was education and it was for them to devise a well-considered educational plan. It was knowledge and enlightenment that made a people great. Muslims were left behind both economically and in the social uplift of the people of this great land of ours. Muslims were at the

bottom as compared with people of other communities. In Madras, for instance, the only two industries in which the Muslims were anywhere were the hides and skins and beedy industries. Would they be content to remain merely 'beediwalas' and 'chamrawalas' or would they play a part in the development of industries, trade and commerce of the country?

The next department of work was no less important. It was the department relating to political training of the Muslims. While Muslims had made remarkable progress in the sense that they had brought millions and millions under the banner of the League, while they had made them politically conscious and raised their ideals, while Muslims were now made to feel and had acquired their self-respect, self-reliance, dignity and honour as a nation, all that they saw before them the enthusiasm and consciousness, required thorough harnessing, consolidating, training—politically—in a manner that would enable them to march on and achieve their goal (Cheers.) He would illustrate this by an analogy. What he wanted was that membets recruited to the League should be trained (as soldiers were trained) but for a political army. The average man should be trained as a political soldier. These political soldiers must have their officers, for unless they had officers, the soldiers could not be guided properly. They should have lieutenants, captains, majors, colonels, generals and so on. He only gave this analogy to impress on them the nature of the next move they should make. The biggest task they had was to have the Muslims well trained in the political science, language and movements not only of this country but of the whole world and to face any emergency that might arise at any time.

MUSLIMS' GOAL

The next question I want to place before you is that we have now got to define—and define beyond doubt

—what our goal is. There are many people who either do not understand or misunderstand or do not want to understand. There are ignorant people, not amongst Muslims—thank Heavens for that—and it is really amazing—I will give you one or two instances later—how our decisions or resolutions are misinterpreted or misrepresented. In order that there should be no room left for misunderstanding and that no doubt should be left in the mind of any intelligent or sensible Indian—it does not matter to which class or community he belongs—let me clarify our position with regard to our goal. What is the goal of the All-India Muslim League? What is its ideology and what its policy? Let me tell you as clearly as I can possibly define it, that the goal of the All-India Muslim League is this: We want the establishment of completely independent states in the north-west and eastern zones of India with full control finally of defence, foreign affairs, communications, customs, currency and exchange, etc. We do not want in any circumstances a constitution of an all-India character with one government at the Centre. We will never agree to that. If we once agree to *that, let me tell* you, the Muslims will be absolutely wiped out of existence. We shall never be tributaries of any power or any government at the Centre so far as the north-west and eastern zones of our free national homelands are concerned.

The leadership of Hindu India has, I regret to say, been fooled. They have been bamboozled by the policy and the diplomacy of the British Government who are dangling in front of them a united all-India constitution and democracy—the two carrots before donkeys! The British Government know—and I say to the Hindu leadership, you have lost the last shred of statesmanship if you do not realise yet that the British Government know it—that Muslim India will never submit to an all-India constitution and one central government. The British statesmen

know that the so-called democracy and the parliamentary system of government is nothing but a farce in the country. It is not, as some people mix it up, a question of Muslims objecting to government based on the brotherhood of man, as it is often alleged by people who really do not understand what they are talking about when they talk of either democracy or Islam. Democracy means, to begin with, majority rule. Majority rule in a single nation, in a single society, is understandable, although even there it has failed. Representative government in a single nation, harmonious, homogeneous and one is understandable. But you have only got to apply your mind for a few minutes to see the truth. Can such a system ever work or succeed when you have two different nations—indeed more than two different nations,—in this sub-continent, when you have two totally different societies, the Muslim society and the Hindu society ? In this land of yours (meaning the Madras Province) there is another nation, the Dravidians. This land is really Dravidastan. Imagine that three per cent of the Brahmins high caste, by skilful manœuvring and by skilful methods of electioneering which they have studied, should secure the majority. Is this democracy or is it a farce ? Therefore, I give my fullest sympathy and support to the Non-Brahmins. I say to them : The only way for you is to come into your own, live your own life according to your own culture and according to your own language—thank God that Hindi did not go very far here—and your own history is to go ahead with your ideal. I have every sympathy for you and I shall do all I can to support you to establish Dravidastan. The seven per cent of Muslims will stretch their hand of friendship to you and live with you on lines of equality, justice and fairplay.

SAFEGUARDS FOR MINORITIES

Speaking next of safeguards for minorities, Mr. Jinnah said, that safeguards for minorities must be provided for,

wherever there are minorities. I have always believed—and I think I am right in believing that—that no government will ever succeed without creating a sense of security and confidence in the minorities. No government will succeed if their policy and programme is to be unjust, unfair and tyrannical over the minorities. The acid test of success of any government of a representative character is that the minorities must feel that they will have fairplay and justice. In that we shall not be wanting or lagging behind any civilised country in the world. I am confident that when the time comes, the minorities in our homelands will find that with our traditions, and our heritage and the teaching of Islam, not only shall we be fair and just to them but generous. (Cheers) We do not higgle-haggle. We do not believe in bargaining. We believe in action, we believe in statesmanship and in practical politics.

INDEPENDENT NATION

Referring to the ideology of the League, Mr. Jinnah said that it had already been made very clear. But there were people in this country and especially there was a section of the Hindu press, who should be reminded of the same over and over again. The ideology of the League, he said, is based on the fundamental principle that Muslim India is an independent nationality Any attempt to get them to merge their nationality or political identity or entity will not only be resisted but, in my opinion, it will be futile for anyone to attempt it. We are determined, and let there be no mistake about it, to establish the status of an independent nation and an independent State in this sub-continent.

GOODWILL AND HARMONY

Explaining the policy of the League, Mr. Jinnah said that it was their aim to endeavour to promote goodwill and

harmony among the peoples in the land on the basis of equality, fairplay and reciprocity. This could best be secured by agreements with other peoples and parties and states and their living together as members of a comity pledged to respect each other's rights. Any ambition of domination by one over the other must be abandoned, and the sooner that was done the quicker would be the solution of India's problems.

THE POLITICAL DEADLOCK

The next question that is troubling us to-day, Mr. Jinnah said, is what is known as the deadlock. Let us examine it fairly to see as to who is responsible for that. The trouble in our country is that people have not the courage to speak out and to condemn openly the other party, while they claim to be impartial. I can understand one party blaming the other, but even there is a limit. You know perfectly well that from the very commencement of the declaration of the war, in which we are involved, whether we approved it or not, whether we liked it or not, we have been made belligerents. Knowing the events that are taking place day after day, we naturally became fully conscious of the immediate need of our country, its defences and the safeguarding of our homes and these questions occupied our foremost attention. From the beginning of the outbreak of the war, we made our position clear. It is not merely my saying it, but had been made clear by the Working Committee, the Council, and the full session of the All-India Muslim League. After the war had broken out the first good news, along with other bad news that we got, was the declaration of the Viceroy that his Majesty's Government are pleased to suspend the All-India Federation scheme embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935. (Cheers). It was only suspension. We know how capable our British friends are in the science and game of diplomacy.

We knew that was not enough, because what was suspended may be again established at any time. Therefore our first and foremost demand was that it should not only be suspended but must be abandoned. After long-drawn correspondence and interviews, the Government declared that the whole problem of India's future constitution will be considered *de novo*, including the policy and the plan on which the Government of India Act of 1935 was based. That was no doubt a great relief, because it was against that part of the Act that Muslim India was fighting from the very commencement. What was the next thing that we put before the British Government? We were afraid of another thing. You know that, in spite of all our efforts, the League was not so strong then as the Congress in organisation. The Congress, let me tell you, means nothing more and nothing less than a solid body of Hindus behind it. Other off-shoots and little branches (*bachas*) like the Hindu Mahasabha, the All-India Hindu League, the Liberal Federation and some other little bodies, you know, are all one. I do not say they are one in the sense that they approve all the acts of the Congress. But if any body does represent the high class Hindus throughout India, it is the Congress. We knew that this Hindu organisation had been waiting for a long time for this war to break out. In fact, you remember, a year before, when there was a likelihood of the war breaking out, the Congress Working Committee sat in vigilance at Delhi for days and days, because as they were giving out openly, that will be the chance of their lives when they will be able to coerce the British Government successfully and wrench from them what they desired to take. We knew that this powerful organisation was waiting and watching, and therefore we wanted the British Government to make the position clear with regard to the constitution of India, and we demanded that no constitutional change, interim or final, should be made without the

approval and consent of the Musalmans of India. After long-drawn correspondence and interviews, we now have the announcement of the Viceroy of August 8 and amplified by Mr. Amery on August 14. This demand is nothing less than bare justice to the ninety millions of Musalmans in India. Could the Congress or the Hindus maintain, with any sense of justice and fairplay, that a constitution framed by the British Government joining hands with the Congress and acceptable to them should be thrust on the Muslims and that the Muslims should accept it? Is it not rank madness to say that this means a veto to the Muslim League and a charter of intransigence to Mr. Jinnah and the League? I do not admit for a moment that this is a veto or a charter of intransigence. What does the other proposal mean? It really means this : the framing of a constitution of India, without the approval and consent of a constituent factor, namely, the Muslims. I repeat again that it is but bare justice that we are asking that we must be recognised as a constituent factor and the British Government have now rightly stated that we must come to an agreement. How would the Congress like to have a constitution framed by the British Government in consultation with the Muslim League alone?

Proceeding, Mr. Jinnah said that in June last year at Bombay they urged upon the British Government—the British Government did not ask them—their attitude towards the war. In this connection, he said, the Congress or some Congressmen had said that the Muslims were imperialistic, and that he who was once a nationalist had turned a communalist because he wanted leadership. Whenever he put new ideas before the public, a section of the Hindu press would style them as "Mr. Jinnah's Tirades" and the "League's Fulminations." He did not know what to do with those people who had developed a diseased mentality.

LEAGUE'S MEMORANDUM TO THE VICEROY

Mr. Jinnah next referred to the resolution adopted by the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League in June 1940, asking the Government of India to take serious steps to strengthen the defence of India and authorising Mr. Jinnah to enter into communication with the Viceroy with a view to exploring and possibly devising all prompt measures to intensify war efforts. This resolution was supplemented by a memorandum which he presented to the Viceroy in July 1940. In it he had said that no pronouncement or statement should be made by the Government which would militate against the basic and fundamental principles laid down in the Lahore resolution of Pakistan, that the Government should give a definite and categorical assurance to the Muslims that no interim or final scheme of constitution should be made without the consent and approval of the Muslims of India, that in view of the grave danger to the country everything should be done to intensify the war efforts, to defend the country and to maintain internal security. They suggested then that the Viceroy's Executive Council be enlarged within the framework of the present constitution, that the additional number should be fixed after further consultation, and that the Muslim representatives should be equal in number to the Congress representatives. They also suggested that in the provinces where section 93 of the Government of India Act was in operation, non-official advisers should be appointed. They also suggested the formation of a war council intended to give representation thereon to the Indian princes. Mr. Jinnah referred to the other suggestions put forward in the memorandum.

Did we say anywhere in that memorandum, " Pakistan here and now" ? The Lahore resolution was passed in March 1940 and this memorandum was prepared in July

1940. Why was it that we never said anything about Pakistan in the memorandum? Before telling them the reason, Mr. Jinnah said, he would like to inform them that all sorts of messages are sent out that the Pakistan issue is postponed, Pakistan is now put aside. This was, Mr. Jinnah added, nothing but wishful thinking on the part of those who had their feet deep in the mire. Why not say honestly and frankly that you have committed a blunder and that you are also willing to come into line?

BRITISH PRESS COMMENT

Mr. Jinnah said that this vicious propaganda which was being pursued and the way in which they were harassed was not confined only to the press and the public in this country, but to his amazement and astonishment he found that even the British press was being misled. This was that *The Times*, London, one of the best informed papers, wrote on April 1: "It is fools' day," Mr. Jinnah commented amidst laughter, "and *The Times* has been fooled." "While these proposals have," wrote *The Times*, "encountered much opposition in various quarters, it is significant that the most general press comment on them is that they offer a fresh opportunity for re-examining the political situation. Mr. Jinnah's recent statement in the Central Assembly that the Muslim League would co-operate in a reconstituted executive, provided his scheme for partitioning British India is considered after the war, may make it easier for the two chief Indian parties to reach some temporary understanding." Mr. Jinnah remarked that this was a feeler regarding a change of attitude on his part and he could only say to the dozen of the British press that this was ingratitude stronger than any traitor's arms! (Cheers.)

Returning to the point as to why they did not demand Pakistan here and now, Mr. Jinnah said that it was due to one and only reason, namely, we did not wish to embarrass the British Government when they are engaged in this struggle of life and death and their own existence. (Cheers.) That is why we said that as soon as the circumstances may permit or soon after the war, the whole problem of India's constitution must be examined *de novo*. (Cheers). Instead of the British Government acknowledging this as an honourable attitude on our part, worthy of their gratitude, I find that even the British press is playing into the hands of the Congress and Hindu propaganda. (Shame !) I do not know who is responsible for this, whether it is Lord Linlithgow, or whether it is Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, or whether it is his Majesty's Government. But let me once more emphasise from this platform that the policy of the British Government in India, of inaction, of weakness, and of vacillation, is going to prove more disastrous than it is even in Europe. (Hear, hear). Cannot these men see that events are moving so fast and that maps are being changed ? Look at what is happening in Europe. Look at what the Axis Powers are doing—action and action ; and what is the British Government doing, placating and placating, vacillation, weakness, inaction !

YUGOSLAVIA AND INDIA

In this connection, Mr. Jinnah referred to the march of events in Yugoslavia and said that, following the German capture of Zagreb, the Yugoslavia province of Croatia had been proclaimed an ' independent state, ' according to the German News Agency, and a Croat general had called on all officials, army officers and non-commissioned officers to take the oath of allegiance to the ' New State. ' They should remember, Mr. Jinnah said, that in Yugoslavia

there were the Croats, the Slovenes and the Serbs. Their position was very much like our position in India : Dravidastan and the Dravidians, Pakistan and the Muslims and Hindustan and the Hindus. Here is a mighty sub continent and the question really is : Are you going to wait and allow somebody else to come here and do the job for you or are you going to do it yourselves ? (Hear, hear and prolonged cheers.)

LEAGUE AND CONGRESS DEMANDS

Mr. Jinnah next dealt with the question, " what does the Congress want ? " The Congress had taken up a position, he said, about which there was not the slightest doubt in the mind of anyone. He would like to ask any man with any grain of sense : Do you think that Mr. Gandhi, the supreme commander and the general of this army, has started this satyagraha merely for the purpose of getting liberty of speech ? (Voices : No, no.) Do you agree with me that this is nothing but a weapon of coercion for blackmailing the British who are in a tight corner to concede to the Congress the demands that they insisted upon : (Voices : Yes, yes.)

What are the demands of the Congress ? asked Mr. Jinnah, and he went on answering the poser by stating that the demand was the declaration of immediate and unconditional independent and freedom of India with power to the people of India, by a constituent assembly, to be elected by adult franchise, to frame their own constitution—of course, to the satisfaction of the minorities. (Ironical laughter.) How that will be brought about, Heaven alone knows ; I don't know. This was the demand of the Congress, and when they found it was not going to wash—the British Government ought to be grateful to the Muslim League for saving them the maximum amount of trouble the

Congress was determined to give them, and he believed that in their heart of hearts the British people were grateful to the Muslim League—they thought of a flanking movement. The Congress found that the British Government would not possibly accept the demand. For the Muslims it meant complete destruction if that demand was conceded. Therefore, naturally the Muslim League opposed it tooth and nail. There were other minorities also who were concerned with their own status, like the Scheduled Castes, the Christians and so on. The result was that Mr. Gandhi and the Congress found, to their unexpected astonishment, a strong opposition to the Congress demand. So the Congress thought that if they could not get what they wanted by a frontal attack, they should try a flanking movement.

POONA RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS

What was the flanking movement? Mr. Jinnah asked and replied by saying "another resolution." Mr. Jinnah here explained that as soon as the Congress passed a resolution, there would be commentators and interpreters. The explanation of the meaning of a resolution would go on for weeks and weeks and by the time the commentators had finished, yards and yards of statements would have been issued. They went from Delhi to Wardha, from Wardha to Delhi, from Delhi to Poona and so on. So when they found that the Muslim League was the power which was holding up their diabolical machinations, they tried the flanking movement at Poona in place of the frontal attack. The change in Poona was only a change in name. The flanking movement was a plan and a strategy which was designed at Poona under the great general, because Mr. Jinnah did not believe that Mr. Gandhi was not a party to it. (Hear, hear.) The Congress, Mr. Jinnah said, was willing to throw overboard the general, Mr. Gandhi,

provided the British Government will do this, namely, make a declaration of immediate independence and freedom of India unconditionally, and the future constitution, the final constitution to be framed after the war ; but the provisional constitution should be a national government at the centre, responsible to the legislature. That was the Poona proposal and Mr. Gandhi, of course, was thrown overboard. And Mr. Kripalani, Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee, said that they went to the length of selling their leader. (Laughter.) They sold their leader, and ahimsa (renewed laughter), which was their creed, was also buried in the city of Poona, because the Congress was ready to assist the British in the prosecution of the war and the defence of India. What was 'haram' as we say became 'halal' at Poona ! (Laughter.)

Proceeding Mr. Jinnah said that the Congress found that this was not going to wash either, because nobody was going to be deceived by this sort of things. They were only deceiving themselves. Then what did they do ? All of a sudden, that great genius of your province, Mr. Rajagopalacharya, came out, as he does such wonderful things at times, with this strategy. He said that "in this national government that we are proposing we are waiting that Mr. Jinnah should be the Prime Minister, and that he should constitute his cabinet in such manner as he likes." Mr. Jinnah commented, that this was done with a view to deceiving the Muslim League which they considered was the only body that was holding up their (Congress) game. Nobody would be deceived by such things. Even a Muslim boy understood these things now. Ladies and gentlemen, you see the point. I really do not know what has happened to their brains. (Laughter.) They have been in the past successful by these methods. Why don't they realise that nothing of this sort is going to wash, and you cannot go on fooling all people for all time ? It is the Congress and the Congress

alone which has adopted the attitude of sometimes dictating, sometimes cajoling, sometimes fooling and bamboozling and sometimes trying to deceive you. I say to the Congress leaders and the Hindu leaders, please drop these methods.

To illustrate, according to him, the way in which responsible Congressmen spoke, Mr. Jinnah said that as late as April 10 Babu Rajendra Prasad, referring to the Pakistan scheme, said that " the Working Committee of the Congress never discussed the scheme as that was never referred to it by Mr. Jinnah. " Do you believe that the Working Committee of the Congress never discussed the Pakistan scheme? asked Mr. Jinnah and the audience said ' No. ' This ghost has been haunting them since March 1940. (Hear, hear and prolonged cheers.) What standard of truth is this? Every Congress leader heading with Mr. Gandhi has discussed and issued statements and written volumes about it. Babu Rajendra Prasad has actually issued a pamphlet with regard to the Pakistan scheme giving out his views. And he says it was never discussed by the Working Committee, because Mr. Jinnah never referred it to them! I say to Babu Rajendra Prasad, ask your Working Committee to discuss it (hear, hear) if they have not. I say, not only discuss it but apply your mind to it honestly, without prejudice and without silly sentiments, if there is any political wisdom or statesmanship still left in the Congress leadership. (Prolonged cheers.)

HINDU MAHASABHA'S ATTITUDE

Dealing next with the Hindu Mahasabha, Mr. Jinnah said that it was an absolutely incorrigible and hopeless organisation. Mr. Savarkar had sent a message to the Sikh conference that was taking place at Karachi, in which he said that the Sikhs should lose no time in developing into a great military force in the Punjab by demanding and get-

ting their share to the fullest extent possible in the Army, in the Navy and in the Air Force. Having urged the Sikhs to take their due share in arms of the defence Mr. Savarkar assured the Sikhs that " when the Muslims woke from their day-dreams of Pakistan, they would see established instead a Sikhistan in the Punjab. " Mr. Savarkar not only talked of Hindudom, Hindu nation and Hindu raj, but he wanted to depend upon the Sikhs in the Punjab to establish a Sikhistan. When this was the attitude of some of the leaders, Mr. Jinnah said, how was it possible for them (Muslims) to come to any solution of this problem ? It was not alone the rabid Hindu Mahasabha and their leadership that believed in this, but it was the idea and ideology of a large body of people including the Congress leadership. Even the newspaper of Mr. Nehru, a socialist, said in an article on March 30, that " on two things there would be no compromise : There would never be a division of the country to suit the taste and satisfy the ambition of fanatics. " Mr. Jinnah pointed out that when those people talked of division, they referred to Muslims as " fanatics, " and when they talked of Hindudom and so on, they called themselves ' liberal ' and ' nationalists. ' This paper said that there should always be an " akhanda raj, " and that it should be democracy, meaning thereby, majority rule. All these he mentioned, Mr. Jinnah said, to give the Muslim India a clear idea of the leadership of the Congress and the leadership of the Hindu Mahasabha, not to speak about the newly born Hindu League, for they were one and the same—six of the one and half a dozen of the other. The only pity was, he said, that the Hindu public were also being deceived and fooled by this leadership. It would be too late for the Hindu public and the Hindus generally to say " what can we do ? We were helpless. " So long as you are following this leadership, you cannot escape the responsibility and the consequence that

will follow from this leadership. (Hear, hear.)

BOMBAY CONFERENCE PROPOSALS

Mr. Jinnah next referred to the Bombay Conference and its proposals. He said that the Hindu Mahasabha had already repudiated and disowned this conference. He thought that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru on his own admission had been a political orphan for a very long time. (Laughter). This political orphan had been caught in a trap, because there was one obsession with him that in the event of supreme danger to India, he alone as the supreme intellect could rescue India. His motives might be good, his intentions might be good. But I am afraid, Mr. Jinnah said, the Sapru Conference was like a Dutch army without any privates (laughter), and I think the correct answer of the League was given in that very conference by the clear-headed, experienced Hindu political leader, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad. If Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru had only followed his advice, he would have saved himself. What shall I say to this pose which is now thrust upon him by the wire-pullers from behind? The Bombay proposal is nothing but, in another name, the flanking movement and a second edition of the Poona proposal of national government, If they read the memorandum explaining the Bombay resolution, Mr. Jinnah said, there could be no doubt left in them. He did not wish to go into the details of the Bombay resolution and the memorandum. But he would tell them as shortly as he could that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was entirely on the wrong path, on the wrong line and he (Mr. Jinnah) was sorry that he had been caught in the trap by the wire-pullers and other organisations behind this move.

WARNING TO BRITISH GOVERNMENT

Winding up his speech, Mr. Jinnah uttered what he him-

self characterised as "a note of warning" in slow and deliberate accents.

I think I have taken much more time of yours than I thought I would. But it seems to me that I can only wind up on a note which is really a warning to the British Government, because, after all, they are in the possession of this land, and the government of this subcontinent.

Please stop, he declared, please stop your policy of appeasement towards those who are bent upon frustrating the war effort, doing their best to oppose the prosecution of the war and the defence of India at this critical moment. Do you want at this moment to place them in a superior and dominant position now and after the war? Change the corner-stone of the British policy in this country. You are not loyal to those who are willing to stand by you and who sincerely desire to support you. But you desire to placate those who have the greatest nuisance value in political and economic fields. Give up the dominant feature of this policy and the character of this policy. It is that you are trying to get on with those who do not want to get on with you. If you want honestly the support and the co-operation of Muslim India place your cards on the table and take action.

THE ONLY WEAPON

Addressing a word to the delegates, Mr. Jinnah said: We cannot always succeed in settling vital or grave problems, problems affecting life and death, by merely making speeches on this platform or by exposing our opponents and our enemies. The only weapon that you have to forge —and the sooner you forge the better—is to create your own strength, your own power and make your organisation so complete that you can face any danger, any power, any

opponent, any enemy singly or combined together. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

Mr. Jinnah then resumed his seat.

The Tamil rendering of Mr. Jinnah's speech was then given by Mr. Malang Ahmad Badshah Sahib, General Secretary of the Reception Committee.

Reply to Babu Rajendra Prasad on the question of Pakistan 17th April, 1941.

[Congress leaders who had with one voice opposed the Lahore resolution of the Muslim League, without troubling even to study the resolution adopted a new pose on seeing the growing strength of the demand and the support it was gaining. Babu Rajendra Prasad, a member of the Congress High Command, made the rather surprising statement that the Pakistan scheme had not been considered by the Congress and the Congress could express no opinion on it as its full details were not known. Mr. Jinnah in a statement pointed out that the first necessity was to reach an agreement on basic principles; the details would not present any insuperable difficulties and could be considered and worked out later on.]

BASIC PRINCIPLES FIRST

My attention has been drawn to the statement issued by Babu Rajendra Prasad from Patna on April 16. I gather that he is not opposed to the basic principles of the scheme of partition of India but that he wants full details of the scheme, and then alone the Working Committee of the Congress will be pleased to discuss it. Will it not be more ogical course that the Congress should first make up their mind and accept the basic principles laid down in the Lahore resolution of the All-India Muslim League, popularly known as Pakistan?

Babu Rajendra Prasad with his judicial mind ought to know that first the principle of partitioning India must be agreed upon, then alone comes the question of what ways and means should be adopted to give effect to that decision. The question of details will arise then and with goodwill, understanding and statesmanship, we shall, let us hope, settle them among ourselves.

Where there is a will there is a way.

Has Babu Rajendra Prasad known any example where the details have been discussed before without the principle having been accepted ? Even in the case of partition of joint families with which Babu Rajendra Prasad is so familiar there is either an agreement or a decree, and then comes the question how best and equitably to divide the property.

EXAMPLE OF IRELAND, BURMA AND SIND

The latest example in history is that of Ireland. The constitution of North and South of Ireland was finally agreed upon after the principles and the basis of division had been settled. So was the case with Burma. Similarly, the decision to separate Sind was taken first and then the details of the scheme were considered and given effect to.

Let the Congress drop their pistol of non-co-operation and civil disobedience and come into the arena of peaceful settlement and negotiate on the basis of Pakistan, and they would have rendered the greatest service to the Hindus, Muslims and other interests and minorities inhabiting this great sub-continent.

CONTRADICTION IN TERMS

The rest of his statement makes me feel that he is still out trying to turn and twist things. The less we talk about

the attitude and the position that the Congress has taken up for the last three or five years the better. His own statement is really a contradiction in terms. He himself admits and says that during the conversations which had taken place during the last three or four years between me and the representatives of the Congress the two parties could never progress beyond the preliminary stage of settling their respective status. No concrete proposals for a settlement of the communal question had arisen. Then why say I was elusive?

IMPOSSIBLE CONGRESS POSITION

The two specific occasions were, first, when Mr. Subhas Bose, the then President of the Congress, and Mr. Gandhi met me in Bombay. The position taken up by the Congress was an impossible one. It was embodied in the letter addressed to me by Mr. Subhas Bose, dated October 2, 1938, that 'the League does not expect the Congress, either implicitly or explicitly, to acknowledge its status as the authoritative Muslim organisation of India.' "If this view is accepted by the League I am authorised," said Mr. Bose, "to state that the Working Committee will confer with the committee that may be appointed by the League." On the next occasion when Babu Rajendra Prasad, the then President of the Congress, and Mr. Gandhi met me in Delhi in November, 1939, they laid down that the League should support the resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress, confirmed by the All-India Congress Committee of October 10, 1939, demanding immediate and unconditional independence of India and for a declaration of the right of the people to frame their own constitution by means of a constituent assembly, which was to be elected on the basis of adult franchise, and they made it clear to me that the Congress was wholly unable to treat the Muslim

League as the authoritative and representative organisation of the Muslims of India.

CONGRESS ARROGANCE

Both the propositions were impossible and were wholly unacceptable to me, and every time I requested that the Hindu-Muslim question must be settled first, I was told that the communal question could be settled after we had wrenched freedom of our country from the British: and that was also the position taken up by them before the Viceroy at the joint meeting on November 2, 1939, when he requested us to put our heads together to come to a settlement, even provisionally without prejudice to the major issues. After this to say that I was elusive is hardly fair and to say that they were disappointed is really not the correct description of the result. The truth is that the Congress position has been most arrogant and dictatorial.

Correspondence with Sir Tej Bahadur Supru, released on 1st May, 1941

[Though never desiring a real settlement between Hindus and Muslims on equal terms, the Congress and many other Hindu leaders have always realised that nothing could be achieved without the co-operation of Muslims But the attempt to win Muslim co-operation has alway been half-hearted and deceptive. Finding the Congress in hot waters Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, a 'liberal,' entered into correspondence with Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Gandhi with a view to bringing them to meet each other in his own way. But while he sent to Mr. Gandhi a copy of the letter which he had addressed to Mr. Jinnah without the latter's knowledge he did not supply Mr. Jinnah with a copy of his letter addressed to Mr. Gandhi. So far as Mr. Jinnah was concerned, he readily expressed willingness to meet Mr. Gandhi or any other Hindu leader. Having promised to inform Mr. Jinnah of Mr.

Gandh's reactions to his move Sir Tej Bahadur did not fulfil his promise. Instead he issued a statement couched in intemperate language making personal attacks on Mr. Jinnah and denouncing him as an 'intractable' leader. Mr. Jinnah, therefore, released on May 1, 1941, the correspondence he had had with Sir Tej Bahadur, so that the public could judge for themselves as to who was to blame for the failure of the move for settlement and what was the nature of the move itself.]

Mr. Jinnah, releasing the correspondence between him and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, issued the following statement: Let me at once deal with at least one point in the personal statement of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru published on April 29 with regard to his efforts to what he calls bringing Mr. Gandhi and me together. Here is the correspondence that passed between me and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and it speaks for itself.

His promise to communicate with me further made in his letter, dated February 19, remained unfulfilled. Having taken the initative he had not the courtesy to inform me as to the result of his efforts and as to the causes and reasons of his failure: and it is hardly fair that he should now pontifically pronounce in his statement that he does not wish to apportion blame between the leaders, and yet in another place in his statement he characterises me as an 'intractable leader' when by my letter, dated February 10, I at once showed my willingness as suggested by him to meet Mr. Gandhi or any other Hindu leader to have heart-to-heart conversations.

As regards other matters and points raised in Sir T. B. Sapru's personal statement and in the statement of the so-called standing committee of the Sapru Conference I shall, if necessary, deal with them later when I have had sufficient time to examine them carefully.

Letter from Sir T. B. Sapru to Mr. Jinnah, dated Allahabad, February, 6, 1941

My dear Jinnah,

Since we met last in Bombay a few months ago I have several times thought of writing to you but I have never been able up to this moment to make up my mind. Even now when I have decided to write to you I am writing this letter with considerable hesitation, as if cannot make things better than they are at present, I certainly do not in all conscience want to make them worse. But I believe that since 1916 when we came together in the old Indian Legislative Council you have known my views on the Hindu-Muslim question, and I am, therefore, venturing to hope that you will not misunderstand my point of view.

Although I have not been taking active part in politics of the country for the last few years, the old interest still survives, and I followed fairly closely the trend of recent events. These have only tended to confirm me in my belief that supreme necessity of the hour is a settlement between the Hindus and the Muslims or, to put it in terms of party politics, between the Congress and the Hindu Sabha and the Muslim League. It is my misfortune that owing to some very strong convictions I have found it impossible to join either of the first two, and for obvious reasons I could not be a member of the organisation of which you are the President, and yet I feel that so long as the three big organised bodies of public opinion in India remain in their present state of relationship to each other the future of this country can not be by any means bright.

LEADERS' RESPONSIBILITY

It is not my purpose to discuss in this letter which of the three parties is to blame. I think that a discussion of

this character can never lead to any good: indeed, I think instead of doing good it may do positive harm. You will remember that in August last when we met at Bombay I told you that if the Congress and the Hindu Sabha would not or were not prepared to call a conference for the purpose of settling differences, there was no reason why you as the President of a great and influential League should not take the step forward. Since then I have been giving this matter my constant attention and at last I have made up my mind to make a personal appeal to you. I do not, however, pretend to sail under false colours. I represent neither the one party nor the other. I can neither offer nor accept terms. I can only appeal to you in my individual capacity—in the capacity of one who strongly and genuinely holds that the Muslims are an integral part of India and that their willing co-operation with other communities must necessarily condition the nature, extent and speed of the progress of the country.

I am deliberately avoiding all reference to the controversial issues that divide the one from the other, as it is not for me to settle them but for you and leaders of other parties who can influence opinion and speak for others to raise these issues and to come to a settlement in regard to them. As a realist, I feel that not only you but Mr. Gandhi and the leaders of the Hindu Sabha, particularly Mr. Savarkar, are the men on whom the primary responsibility for a settlement of those issues lies.

MEETING SUGGESTED

Neither speeches on public platforms nor statements and interviews given by leaders can really help the situation. I think conversations or, if I may use a hackneyed phrase, heart-to-heart conversations, may possibly lead to some satisfactory results. In any case, even if they do not, we

shall have the satisfaction of knowing that everything has been done which could be done to bring about a better state of feeling and understanding. I am, therefore, venturing to suggest on my own account without committing any other party to my views or suggestions that (1) you should agree first to meet Mr. Gandhi and then the process of private talks could be extended to others ; (2) if you and other leaders then think that it would serve the best interests of the country to invite a joint conference, then you all could take the necessary step. I can assure you of my personal support and co-operation in this matter.

If your reply to my suggestion is that you will be prepared to see Mr. Gandhi and talk over matters with him, I shall write to him and press it on him that he must see you at Bombay or any other place that may suit your convenience. I hope very strongly that he will be quite willing to see you in Bombay or any other convenient place and discuss things with you. I think you too should meet first, for if the country is dear to him, I believe, it is no less dear to you. You may be at present identified with the Muslim League ; it may be a necessity of the situation that you should be leading the Muslim League. I have no kind of prejudice against the League or anyone connected with it and so far as you are concerned, I still prefer to look upon you as I used to in the days gone-by ; when other people also looked up to you for guidance and advocacy of the cause of India, irrespective of caste, colour or creed.

If you are willing to see Mr. Gandhi and to discuss things, I hope you will permit me to take him into confidence about what you write to me.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely

Tej Bahadur Sapru.

Letter from Mr. Jinnah to Sir T. B. Sapru, dated Bombay February 10, 1941

My dear Sapru,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 6th instant and thank you for it. I have given to it my closest attention and consideration, coming as it does from you.

The main purpose on which you concentrated is directed towards trying to induce me to agree to see Mr. Gandhi. I am sorry to find that you are under the impression that I am reluctant and opposed to seeing Mr. Gandhi or any other Hindu leader on behalf of the Hindu community, for you say in your letter that I should agree first to see Mr. Gandhi. Then you proceed to say further: 'if your reply to my suggestion is that you will be prepared to see Mr. Gandhi and talk over matters with him, I shall write to him and press it upon him that he must see you at Bombay or any other place that may suit your convenience.' Please remove this erroneous impression from your mind. I have always been ready and willing to see Mr. Gandhi or any other Hindu leader on behalf of the Hindu community and do all I can to help the solution of Hindu-Muslim problem.

LEAGUE'S POSITION

As regards other matters in your letter, I cannot do better than to send you a press cutting giving the full text of my speech that I made in the course of the debate in the Assembly on the Supplementary Finance Bill last November, as I fear that your attention, if at all, could have been drawn only to the summary that appeared in most of the papers at the time. This will give you some idea of the position and the point of view of the Muslim League.

I thank you for your personal references to me which, I need not say, I appreciate very much.

Yours sincerely
M. A. Jinnah.

Letter from Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to Mr. Jinnah, dated Allahabad, February 19, 1941

My dear Jinnah,

Thank you ever so much for your kind letter of February 10. I regret to say that I have been having high fever for the last five or six days and am therefore unable to attend to any political correspondence. As soon as I get better, I shall write to you again about the matter about which I wrote to you on February 6. I appreciate very much the promptness with which you have so kindly replied to me.

Yours sincerely
Tej Bahadur Sapru.

Statement on the Sapru Canference, 4th May, 1941

[Soon after releasing his correspondence with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru Mr. Jinnah issued the following statement, thoroughly exposing the real object and designs of the so-called non-party leaders' conference presided over by Sir Tej Bahadur which was but a 'flanking movement' to secure Hindu domination at the Centre under another name, as also the forces and wire-pullers working behind the scenes.]

On Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's own showing the leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha were behind it, but immediately after the conference was over, it was authoritatively stated at the

meeting of the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha that the Hindu Mahasabha was not officially connected with the Bombay Conference, and that the Hindu Mahasabha was free to take its own decision on any settlement that may arise out of these negotiations.

LEAGUE DISREGARDED

The very nature and character of the proposals put forward by this conference clearly indicate that they were designed to meet the demands of Mr. Gandhi, the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha, in total disregard of the position of the Muslim League. In fact, it met the Congress Poona demand for 'national Government' in effect at the Centre, and its acceptance by the British Government would have automatically torpedoed the Muslim League demand of Pakistan. Therefore, the objective of this conference was and its resolutions were intended to make the way smooth for the Congress and to enable Mr. Gandhi to give up satyagraha and return to normal politics with credit, substantial gain and victory over all others.

CONGRESS COMPLICITY

Further, the meeting of the conference and its resolutions and its proposals synchronised with a bold lead given by the *Hindu* of Madras—an out-and-out Congress paper—urging upon Mr. Gandhi to give up satyagraha. The conference and its resolutions were received with the deepest sympathies by the Congress press generally. Ordinarily such a conference of self-appointed delegates would have been at once dubbed as nonentities and men who represented nobody. After the resolution was passed the *Hindu* gave the best certificate to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in the following terms:—'These proposals not only constituted a considerable approxi-

mation to the Congress demand but they represent a very substantial agreement amongst all the progressive elements of the country.'

Of course, Muslim India of 100 millions, the Scheduled Castes of 60 millions and millions of Non-Brahmins of Southern India do not count or matter, and as regards the Indian States they do not even exist. All that was aimed at was how best to satisfy Mr. Gandhi and the Congress. The origin and the paternity of Sapru proposals can easily be traced to the author of the Delhi-cum-Poona Congress demand for national Government. Mr. Rajagopalacharya, who carried the day at the cost of Mr. Gandhi being thrown overboard, not only received permission and advice of Mr. Gandhi that the Poona resolution should be enforced but curiously Mr. Gandhi went further and actually recommended and advised the Muslim League and even the Princes to welcome it and support it whole-heartedly; and, notwithstanding his implicit faith in his creed of non-violence, he proceeded to advise the British Government in the following terms: 'I advise as a disinterested but staunch friend that the British Government should not reject the hand of friendship offered by the Congress.' Is this consistent with *ahimsa* and truth?

C. R.'S INITIATIVE

Recently at a public meeting at Trichinopoly, which, as reported in the press, was held on April 19, the leader of the Non-Brahmin Justice Party, Mr. Ramaswamy Naicker, stated that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru had no intention of ever convening the conference to end the deadlock, but that it was at the instance of Mr. K. Srinivasan, managing editor of the *Hindu*, who in turn was pressed by Mr. Rajagopalacharya to prevail on Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to convene a meeting and pass a resolution which was to all intents and

purposes drafted by Mr. Rajagopalacharya. I wish Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru had followed the sound advice of Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and not allowed his name and reputation to be exploited by those who were behind the move.

AGREEMENT ESSENTIAL

Evidently, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is still living in the atmosphere of the Round Table Conference. He does not realise that since then much water has run down the Jumna, and when he appeals to the British Government to take the initiative and impose a constitution upon India he is at least a decade behind. On the other hand, he himself says: 'During the Round Table Conference discussions, when Mr. Ramsay MacDonald consulted me about the Communal Award, I told him point-blank that if I were the British Prime Minister, I should not undertake the responsibility, and yet, notwithstanding the fact that there was no agreement between the Hindus and the Muslims, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's Government which consisted also of Conservatives went on with their scheme: gave first the Communal Award and then introduced the India Bill.' What has happened to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to deviate from the wise and statesmanlike advice which he gave to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the then Prime Minister? He now desires that the British Government should force or impose a constitution, interim or final, although there may be no agreement between the Hindus and Muslims. In fact Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru should be the first to appreciate that the Muslim League has succeeded in persuading the British Government by means of their representations and correspondence that the whole constitutional field should be re-examined, and that no change in the adoption of any final constitutional scheme should be decided upon by the British

Government without the approval and consent of Muslim India.

BREACH OF FAITH

That was precisely the statesmanlike advice which Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru tendered to the then British Prime Minister when he unfortunately failed. What is the use of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru asking the British Government to go back upon their solemn pledge given by their declaration of policy, dated August 8, which would be considered by Muslim India as a gross breach of faith with them? What is the use of appealing to the British Government to impose any interim or final constitution, contrary not only to the wishes of Muslim India and other powerful minorities and the Indian States but in the teeth of their opposition? To say that the Indian problem, as it exists to-day, will defy any solution if solution depends on Indian efforts, is to argue ourselves out of court with our claim for freedom and independence. If we cannot agree upon a scheme of constitution, how on earth are we going to manage together or run any kind of sovereign or independent government?

BRITISH ATTITUDE

Mr. Amery has made it quite clear by his speech of April 22 as to what was the essence of the August declaration of his Majesty's Government. To put it in his own words it was that the "framework of India's future constitution should be devised by Indians themselves and not by this House That was a far-reaching and, indeed, revolutionary announcement, the full importance of which has not, I think, been fully appreciated either in this country or India."

Then he says further, "Even more important in this connection is the stipulation that the constitution itself, and

also the body which is to frame it, must be the outcome of agreement between the principal elements in India's national life. That is an essential prerequisite to the success of the future constitution. For if Indians cannot agree upon the kind of constitution they are prepared to work, how are they likely to agree upon the actual working of it?" He adds later, "I have dwelt deliberately upon Indian responsibility in the matter: for unless Indians are prepared to face that responsibility now, they will fail to face it hereafter. Any agreement imposed by us from without cannot survive withdrawal of our power to enforce it. Only a real agreement freely reached can stand that test."

The Hon'ble member, Mr. Godfrey Nicholson, in the course of the debate said: 'The venus has left Westminster and is now in India.' This was the advice Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru tendered to the British Government ten years ago. Only he failed. But now it is described repeatedly *ad nauseam* that this gives a veto to Mr. Jinnah and the Muslims and it is said that 'practically the present position of the Secretary of State for India is that until it pleases Mr. Jinnah, his Majesty's Government can do nothing to give effect to their own intentions.' Surely this was fully explained by Mr. Amery as far back as the 14th of August when he amplified the declaration of August 8. He said: 'Agreement by consent is, indeed, the foundation of all free government, of all true democracy. Decision by majority is not so much of the essence of democracy as a practical convenience which presupposes for its proper working an antecedent general consent to the constitution itself. It has, indeed, in most federal constitutions been limited in various ways in order to safeguard the separate interests of the federating elements. To describle the need for such agreement as a veto on constitutional progress is, I think, to do an injustice to the patriotism and sense of responsibility of those concerned. Agreement means not veto by any

element but compromise, and willingness to compromise in India as elsewhere is an essential test of the sense of responsibility on which a free government must be based.'

SEPARATE CONSTITUENT FACTOR

Further, it is recognised that Muslim India is a separate constituent factor in any future Indian policy, entitled to be treated as such in any discussion for the shaping of India's future constitution, and it, as other elements, is not to be regarded as a mere numerical minority.

Let me here quote the words of a well-known British writer, Patrick Lacy: 'If they say we cannot agree ourselves on terms for our advance hand in hand to freedom under a single responsible government, let the Hindu nation and the Muslim nation go ahead as well as they can separately. Don't hold us back together just because we quarrel. Let us say we will rather have two free Indian dominions each as nearly homogeneous as it can be than one enormous cockpit of feuds under the ignominy of alien rule.'

I would like Mr. Amery also to ponder over this and not talk so much of the 'immense difficulties.' No constitutional scheme for India will be free from difficulties. The question is which scheme is fraught with the least amount of difficulties. I am afraid his reference to the Balkan States and his reference to Indian history in the 18th century is totally irrelevant. He had better study the history of Ireland which is nearer home.

PERVERSION OF TRUTH

Now with regard to the statement issued by the so-called standing committee composed of Mr. Aney, Sardar Sant Singh, Mr. Shiv Rao, who is supposed to be the joint secretary, and last but not least Sir Jagdish Prasad, the

secretary, it is a crooked and tortuous statement and in certain parts perversion of truth. It indulges in attacks all-round mainly on the Muslim League and myself. The whole burden of the song in the statement is directed against me as Charles's head. They complain that the British Government have come back on their declared policy without having understood the declaration of the 8th of August, and they have indulged in complete misrepresentation of the Muslim League, and say that it does not represent Muslim India, which is untrue to their knowledge. It is a worthless document intended purely for the purpose of propaganda to mislead the ignorant and credulous people of India and abroad. I would not have taken notice of it if the name of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru had not been associated with it.

Amplified Statement on the Sapru Conference circulated to all branches of the League, May 1941

[It has been part of Congress propaganda to misrepresent and malign Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League as the villain of the peace, hindering the progress and freedom of the country. But, as events developed, even other leaders like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru who had had some kind of reputation for reasonableness lined themselves up with the Congress and started a crusade against the Muslim League and a vendetta against Mr. Jinnah. Insidious attempts have been made to delude the world into believing that, except for Mr. Jinnah and his followers, the whole country was anxious for a settlement with Britain and help her win the war. Mr. Jinnah, therefore, issued a revised statement exposing the positively anti-Muslim character and design of the Sapru Conference and the futility of its proposals. Copies of the statement were widely distributed by the provincial, district and primary Leagues.]

TEXT OF DOCUMENT

The following is the full text of the document received from Mr. Jinnah and circularised to the provincial units of the League for extensive distribution.

CHARACTER OF THE CONFERENCE

Before dealing with the proposals of the Sapru Conference let me deal with the character of the conference. The so-called Non-Party Conference specially invited leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha and also Mr. Srinivasan, editor of the *Hindu*. It is known that Mr. Srinivasan is in the confidence of Mr. Rajagopalacharya. The memorandum submitted by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to the Viceroy says that leaders of the Liberal Party were also invited. What difference is there between a member of the Liberal Party, the Congress, the Hindu League, and the Hindu Mahasabha? The conference was composed of men of practically the same school of thought and of elements that are against the Muslim League. Mr. Aney, the President of the All-India Hindu League, whose activities against the Muslim League are well known, is taking an even more active part in the standing committee of the conference.

LEAGUE IGNORED

I can understand that when Mr. Gandhi was approached and when he declined to participate in the conference, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru did not trouble to invite any other Congressman, especially when the Congress had decided not to co-operate. But why was the Muslim League ignored? The Muslim League had not decided to non-co-operate with the Government or with the war movement. It has never yet been hinted that it would resort to civil disobedience. On the contrary, the Muslim League had placed no difficulty in the prosecution of the war or in any other way embarrassed the British Government but had taken up a very reasonable attitude, that is, that it was not possible for it, without real authority in the Government of the

country, to secure the whole-hearted and enthusiastic support of the Muslim India.

CONFERENCE PROPOSALS

Coming to the proposals issued by the Sapru Conference, it is clear that they incorporated three main demands from the British Government:

(1) The entire Executive Council of the Governor-General should be reconstructed and should be composed of non-official members and all portfolios, including Finance and Defence, should be transferred to non-official Indians drawn from important elements of public life.

(2) That the Government at the Centre so constituted should be treated in regard to all internal and international matters on the same footing as a Dominion Government.

(3) That the British Government should issue a new declaration that within a fixed period after the conclusion of the war the British Government should commit itself to establish in India a Dominion and give it the status and powers enjoyed by Great Britain and the Dominions.

From these proposals, taken together, it is evident that they stood for nothing but an immediate, united and democratic Government at the Centre with the pretence that only for the duration of the war it would be responsible to the Crown and would assume the permanent character of a Dominion Government after a certain period by virtue of the new declaration. Emergency and permanent governments were both to be constituted on the basis of India being taken as a single unit.

PREJUDGING CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS

If this scheme were accepted and if the British Government were to commit itself to it, it is clear that it would

have meant completely cancelling the declaration of August 8, which would have been the grossest breach of faith with Muslim India and other minorities. The underlying idea was to get the British Government by hook or by crook to denounce and reject the Muslim League demand for the partition of India. The acceptance of these proposals would have meant without doubt prejudging the future constitutional problems and other adjustments. The proposals further involved a fundamental change in the present constitution of India which would require an amendment of the Government of India Act and adjustments between the Provincial and Central Governments and of the relations with the Indian States.

NOT REPRESENTATIVE

As for the representative character of the reconstructed Executive Council of the Governor-General how could its non-official Indian members be drawn from the important elements of public life when it was admitted that the Congress would have nothing to do with the proposals, when the Hindu Mahasabha had declared that it stood in no way committed to or connected with them, when the Muslim League was opposed to it, and when the various minorities were not even represented at the conference?

SAME POLICY

The so-called Non-Party Sapru Conference adopted the same policy which the Hindu Mahasabha did, and which approximates to that of the Poona Congress resolution passed long before this conference matured. The Hindu Mahasabha had demanded by its official resolution that the British Government should denounce and immediately reject the Muslim League demand for partition and declare

in favour of a united and democratic India and pledge itself to enact, within one year after the war, a constitution on that basis and to give India the status and powers enjoyed by Great Britain or any other Dominion. The Congress on the other hand means the same thing though in different language, posing as an All-India body standing for complete independence.

LEAGUE POSITION

Now let us examine the position of the Muslim League in the light of these proposals and in the light of present-day politics. Ever since the war started and even to-day the position of the Muslim League has been and still is that within the framework of the existing constitution and apart from issues and problems that may arise when we come to tackle the future problems of the Indian constitution we were and are still ready and willing to assume responsibility for the prosecution of the war and the defence of India, provided a real and substantial share in the authority of the Government at the Centre and in the Provinces is given to representatives of the All-India Muslim League.

EXORBITANT DEMAND

The difficulty that was created was due to the Congress refusing to take up this reasonable attitude and secondly to the fact that the Hindu Mahasabha, which could not claim to represent a solid body of Hindus, put forward an exorbitant demand that its representation in the proposed expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council should be according to population.

EQUAL REPRESENTATION

The Muslim League declared that this was an emergency war arrangement and, therefore, if the Congress came in as

representing all Hindus and as the Muslim League represents all Muslims both should have equal representations in this arrangement ; and if the Congress refused to come in, it was obvious that the main burden would fall on the shoulders of the Muslim League, and, therefore, it should have a majority in the Executive Council. Lastly, the Muslim League wanted an assurance that in the event of the Congress coming in later the Muslim League's position would be secured, and that it would not be let down.

It has also made it clear that in the meantime the British Government should not do anything which would in any way militate against the Muslim League proposal to partition India.

What exactly was the reason, why the Viceroy and the British Government suspended this arrangement of the expansion of the Executive Council within the framework of the present constitution, it is difficult to realise and understand, although it is given out that the reason was that the Muslim League in particular asked for a measure of representation as against the Hindu element and made stipulations as to the future which the Viceroy could not see his way to accepting. In the light of the above facts which is the only true version, this is not quite the correct position to attribute to the Muslim League.

Speech at Ootacamund, June, 1941

[After the Madras session of the Muslim League Mr. Jinnah sojourned for a few weeks in Mysore State and Ootacamund. In a speech at Ooty Mr. Jinnah prophesied that the time was not distant when Pakistan will be adopted by every Indian and explained that it was the best solution of the minority problem. At Bangalore Mr. Jinnah delivered two speeches in the course of which he warned State

Muslims against opportunist and hypocritical leadership which had injured Muslim interests in the past and emphasised the value of united public opinion.]

The time is not far distant when Pakistan will be adopted by every Indian in spite of false and misleading propaganda against it, declared Mr. Jinnah, addressing a public meeting at the Gymkhana pavilion, Ootacamund, when he was presented with an address of welcome by the local Muslims.

It was his firm conviction, said Mr. Jinnah, that what he was advocating was not only in the interests of the Muslims but of the other communities also. India, in his opinion, was never a single nation and had never a national government, let alone even a form of representative or parliamentary government. It was always autocratic rule whether by a Hindu or a Muslim ruler. It is the British bayonet, he declared, that is now holding India together and the moment it is withdrawn India will cease to be even a geographical unit.

Reiterating his faith in the Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah said: I believe as an individual, certainly an overwhelming majority of Musalmans believe, that Pakistan is the only solution for getting our freedom. When I say our freedom, I mean freedom of Hindus and Musalmans, who really constitute the two major nations in this country.

QUESTION OF MINORITIES

Mr. Jinnah said that so long as the Hindus remained Hindus and Muslims remained Muslims, the Hindu nation which was in a majority in India could not but give expression to its will, faith, culture and social order. Willingly or unwillingly these would be imposed on the Muslims who were of a different nation and civilisation. Therefore, the Muslims asked that where they were in a majority they

should be allowed to have their own way of life, and that where Hindus were in a majority they should continue to have their way of life, each nation according to its own philosophy, faith and culture. To describe such a proposal as vivisecting India was to poison the minds of the people.

Dealing with the question of minorities, Mr. Jinnah said: The minorities are not going to be neglected, be they Muslims in Hindu zones or Hindus in Muslim zones. In any settlement that may be reached we shall see that Muslim minorities are safeguarded fully and to the same extent as any minority would be safeguarded under any civilised government. This will apply equally to Hindu minorities in Muslim zones.

Replying to the criticism, that Pakistan would not solve the minority problem, Mr. Jinnah asked: Was it the only way to solve the minority problem that 90 millions of Musalmans should remain a minority for ever in India and under Hindu raj? I want to know who it is that is fair and just—the man who wants the whole and keeps you down, or the man, who says: 'Give me one-third, which is my homeland, and keep you two-thirds and let us be friends?' I leave the verdict to you.

Speech at Bangalore, June, 1941

Let me emphasise that many leaders have exploited you in the past under the name of Muslim leadership, and mind you that the chapter is not yet closed. I give you that warning. There are people who have got one foot in one camp and the other in another camp. You have therefore got to be very careful in choosing your leader, observed Mr. Jinnah at a reception accorded him by the Islamia Club.

Mr. Jinnah said that the Muslim League had given the

Musalmans in India a flag and a platform and their national goal was Pakistan. Pakistan was the goal for which every Musalman should say to himself, "it is a goal worth living for and worth dying for." Political issues which were facing them at present were of the gravest character which would decide the future destiny of 90 million Musalmans. It was a matter of life-and-death struggle to them. They were struggling and fighting not to harm others but in order to live with honour and integrity as free men and not under any raj, be it Hindu raj or any other in this country. The Muslim nation was determined to get itself free and establish Pakistan and the sooner this was realised the better. In conclusion, Mr. Jinnah advised the local Musalmans to organise themselves and undertake constructive programme in order that they might uplift the Musalmans of their cantonment economically, socially and educationally.

Speech in reply to Address presented by Mysore State Muslim League, June, 1941

"You are here in a different state. We are in a different state. Constitutionally and internationally you are in a sovereign state which is different from British India. But whether it be Mysore or any other corner of the world, there is national affinity and national regard and affection for each other among Muslims. The children of Islam know no boundaries and limitations," said Mr. Jinnah, replying to an address presented by the president and members of the Mysore State Muslim League.

Mr. Jinnah said he was glad that Mr. Mohammad Imam, a candidate returned to the Mysore legislature on the State Muslim League ticket, had been chosen by his Highness the Maharaja as a Minister. He hoped that Mr. Imam would do

his duty fearlessly and independently to see that justice was meted out to the Musalmans. Unfortunately, I am sorry to say, added Mr. Jinnah, not only in Mysore but in British India sometimes people risen to high positions have very often kicked the ladder by means of which they have risen. But let me tell you that it is in your hands to see that you are the final masters. Sometimes, because of selfishness or self-interest or a self-aggrandisement, we may be let down either by our representatives or by our leaders or ministers. But there is nothing more powerful and effective than a solid and united public opinion, and you can make your leaders or destroy them as you like.

CHOOSING RIGHT LEADERS

We find that in other countries also these things happen, but I think our country is full of such men who have got one foot here, one foot in a second place, and one foot in a third place, and they speak and act according to circumstances. Beware of those people, and when you have acquired that training, education and experience which will enable you to choose the right leader, half your work will be done.

Mr. Jinnah said that the reason for the organisation of Muslim League in the states and in British India was that in the conditions under which they were living there was no other way, and it must be recognised frankly and honestly that each community had to look after and safeguard its own interests. But that did not mean that the two great communities should not work together in a friendly spirit. After all, if this constitutional reform experiment inaugurated in Mysore was to succeed, it could do so only if the different communities worked together in co-operation and harmony. The majority community should create a sense of security and confidence in the minorities. That was the

acid test of any constitutional government.

Concluding, Mr. Jinnah paid a tribute to his Highness the Maharaja of Mysore and said his impression was that his Highness was really going to be just, fair and sympathetic. Mr. Jinnah advised the Muslims of Mysore to concentrate on the educational, social and economic progress of their community, paying particular attention to the masses in the rural areas.

Statement on British Policy and the Sapru Conference issued from Bombay on 28th July, 1941.

Little things please little minds.

The Sapru Conference has either failed to understand the decision of his Majesty's Government or else it suits them to misunderstand when they flatter themselves by stating in their resolution that 'they note with satisfaction that the original position taken up by his Majesty's Government and the Governor-General that unless there was an agreement between the major political parties in India, no progress was possible, has been abandoned.'

No such declaration was made by his Majesty's Government. What his Majesty's Government have solemnly declared and that stands good so far, is that 'no constitutional change, interim or final, will be undertaken by the Parliament unless there has been antecedent agreement not only between the geographical units but also between the main social elements, both as to the method of framing the constitution and as to the constitution itself.'

His Majesty's Government and the Viceroy made their offer—a concrete offer—of the expansion of the Executive Council and setting up of a Defence Advisory Council in August last to the Muslim League, within the framework

of the present constitution, which accepted the position that there would be a majority of Indians. That offer was not acceptable to the Muslim League on two grounds. Firstly, that it was merely an inflation of the Executive Council and it did not give a real share in the authority and power of the Government. Secondly, that in the event of the Congress agreeing to come in, the Muslim representatives should be equal in number to that of the Hindus, otherwise they should have a majority, as the main responsibility would fall on the Musalmans of India.

ORIGINAL INTENTION

What is really to be regretted is the departure from the original intention that the Executive Council was to have representatives of major political parties with a real share in the authority of the Government. But the Viceroy has now instead nominated a certain number of men to his Executive Council ; explaining in the communique that as result of the increased pressure of work during the war it has been decided to enlarge the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India, and it has been amplified by Mr. Amery in Parliament, that 'no constitutional change is involved in these announcements,' once more emphasising that these changes are in no way concerned with the constitutional developments in India, and once more emphasising the previous statements of his that 'it has been made clear that constitutional changes in India are quite impracticable while the British Empire is engaged in the vital struggle for its existence, and the agreement between major political parties and interests in India is of fundamental considera-tion for any new constitutional scheme.'

Nevertheless, this decision, it should be realised, will block the way of any scheme of associating the representatives of the political parties with real power and authority, even

within the framework of the present constitution.

The real aim and object of the Sapru Conference is to put all pressure upon the British Government and the Viceroy to go back on their solemn declaration of August 8 and get them to denounce and condemn the Muslim League proposal for Pakistan. I am confident that the British Government will not budge from their solemn declaration and promise, because it will involve the grossest breach of faith with Muslim India and, secondly, any such attempt will be resisted by the Muslims of India with all the power that they can command.

PARTITION

It is wickedly represented that the Muslim League is an anti-Hindu movement, simply because the Muslim League firmly believes that the only solution of India's constitutional problem lies in the partition of India as proposed by it. It has no designs on Hindu India. On the contrary it wishes well and godspeed to Hindu India to manage vast territories which constitute their homelands, and let us manage our homelands where we are in majority. On the other hand a large section of the Hindu leaders openly stand for Hinduism, Hindu raj, Hindu industries and commerce, and their design is to keep the Musalmans under the domination of Hindu raj, and this is their conception of a 'united democratic and national India.'

Some of the leaders of this school of thought and the leading members of the Hindu Mahasabha, Mr. Savarkar and Dr. Moonje, who recently threatened the British Government that if a Muslim Defence Minister was appointed, the Hindus would consider it an act of hostility towards Hindu India, are prominent "stars" of this so-called Non-Party Conference.

With regard to Mr. Jayakar's retort to him (Mr. Jinnah),

as reported in the press, about his criticism that the organisers of the conference were, like the Dutch army, only generals, I will only say that Mr. Jayakar was not then one of the conference. He is a new recruit, and I am glad of his admission. But it comes with a very ill grace from a man of his career to taunt some of those who have deserted the Muslim League, when he himself has deserted more than one party during his political career not at the first blast but at the first whiff. May I remind Mr. Jayakar of the saying that 'one swallow does not make a summer.'

Statement on Defence Council issue—Correspondence with the Governor of Bombay on 28th August, 1941.

Mr. Jinnah issued the following statement to the press :

The explanation that has been given, presumably on behalf of Lord Linlithgow, in the communique dated August 27, 1941, from Simla, regarding the recent decision of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, and the statement which has been issued by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, consequent on his resignation from the National Defence Council, is a lengthy and wordy explanation of points, other than the real and vital one, which forms the basis of the resignation of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, *viz.*, that according to the text of the message of his Excellency the Viceroy Sir Sikander Hyat Khan was appointed as a respresentative of the great Muslim community. This message I received through the Governor of Bombay on the morning of July 21 and replied to it on the same day. It is surprising that no reference whatever has been made to it in the whole of the communique.

The statement of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan runs as follows :

" I was surprised, however, to find that in the letter, dated July 28 last, from the Governor of Bombay to Mr. Jinnah, communicating to him a message from his Excellency the

Viceroy, an entirely different complexion had been put on the basis of appointment of the Muslim Premiers on this Council, and *inter alia* it was stated that we were being appointed to the Defence Council as representatives of the great Muslim community.........I could not, in fairness to my province or the Muslim League, continue to serve on this Council."

DOUBLE-CROSSING SIKANDER

According to Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the Viceroy was double-crossing him. That point is not met in the whole of the communique. Had he asked Sir Sikander Hyat Khan to join the Council in his personal capacity, the probability is so obvious that he would have refused, or, at any rate, asked for time to consult the leader and the executive of the Muslim League organisation.

This, evidently, did not suit the Viceroy to put it to him in that way, and he was sworn to strict secrecy.

It is somewhat difficult to understand why the Working Committee has been dragged in the communique. The position of the Working Committee has been made quite clear by its resolution that the gentlemen concerned had clearly associated themselves with the scheme and thereby gone against the express decision and mandate of the League, and without any reference to the leader or the executive of the organisation. The decision of the Working Committee, therefore, was that they should resign from the National Defence Council. It is quite immaterial whether they accepted the invitation in their official capacity or otherwise.

GOVERNMENT CREATING CONFUSION

The various stages of the development of this plea that these gentlemen were appointed in their official capacity as

Premiers, ending with the statement of the Secretary of State for India, which he was at pains to make on August 19, 1941, were merely intended to create confusion among the Muslim public and in the deliberations of the Working Committee, which was called upon to decide as to what action should be taken in the matter.

TALKS WITH VICEROY

Lastly, there is a reference of his Excellency the Viceroy in the communique, to the conversation that he had with me on August 16, 1941. It is quite correct that he informed me that these gentlemen were invited in their official capacity; but in fairness to me it also ought to have been stated as to what was my reply. Here I give the substance of it. I said: " It was quite immaterial to the real issue; nevertheless, it is the first time I hear, on your authority, that they were invited in their official capacity; and even after my reply to your message, which you must have received on the 21st or the 22nd, you did not suggest that they were appointed in their official capacity till to-day." I pointed out to him that this was quite contrary to the message that he was good enough to send to me through the Governor of Bombay. The text of the message did not leave the slightest doubt that they were appointed essentially as representatives of the great Muslim community, because they were Muslims of the highest eminence and capacity. I asked him to send for the copy of his message that he had sent to me and verify what I was saying, to which he replied that he would look it up.

GOVERNOR'S LETTER

I think in fairness to all parties concerned that I should

release to the press the full text of his message and my reply to it.

Government House
Ganeshkhind, July 20, 1941
(Confidential)

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

His Excellency the Viceroy has asked me to let you know his intentions on the matters which follow. I had hoped that I would be able to see you myself in order that I might convey this message to you personally, as was his desire, but unfortunately, now that I am in a position to give you the message, I am not entirely fit, and I am therefore writing to convey it to you by this letter, which I am sending down to Bombay by messenger.

The Viceroy has continued to have very much in mind the whole situation in regard to the war effort and the association of non-official opinion with the prosecution of the war. The obstacles, however, to any settlement on the basis of the complete offer of August last, which emerged so clearly during the discussions last autumn, still exist, to his very great regret, as the last few months, and the reactions to the Secretary of State's statement in the House of Commons on April 22, have made clear. In these circumstances, it is equally clear that he cannot look for that degree of support from the major parties, for the proposals embodied in the August offer, which he desires. Nevertheless, the burden of the conduct of the war on the Central Government has greatly increased, and for administrative reasons it is essential to proceed with some increase in the membership of the Viceroy's Council within the terms of the August offer. The Viceroy, accordingly, is anxious that you should know that he is now, with the approval of his Majesty's Government, creating five new portfolios.

These new portfolios, and the names of the gentlemen by

whom they have been accepted, are as follows :—

Supply : Sir Homi Mody. Information : Sir Akbar Hydari. Civil Defence : Mr. Raghavendra Rao. Indians Overseas : Mr. Aney. Labour : Sir Firoz Khan Noon.

The Viceroy would also like you to know that he proposes to fill the vacancies arising in the portfolio of Law when Sir Zafarullah Khan goes to the Federal Court, and in the portfolio of Education when Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai takes up a mission overseas, by the appointment of Sir Sultan Ahmed and Mr. Sarker.

In addition, the Viceroy does not feel that, because of the difficulty in securing the support of the major political parties, it is possible to delay further the more active association of non-official Indian opinion with the prosecution of the war. He is accordingly establishing, with the approval of his Majesty's Government, a National Defence Council. The Council will consist of some thirty members, nine of whom will be drawn from the Indian States. The Viceroy regards it as essential that the great Muslim community should be represented on that Council by persons of the highest prominence and capacity. He has, accordingly, invited the Premiers of Assam, Bengal, the Punjab and Sind to serve as members on it, and he has extended invitations also to certain other prominent Muslims, such as Sir Mahomed Usman. He has considered whether he should invite you to let him have any suggestions as to the possible personnel for this Council, but being aware, as he is, of your general attitude, he has concluded that it would be preferable not to embarrass you by inviting you to make suggestions.

It is intended that an announcement about these changes will be made on the morning of Tuesday, July 22, and the Viceroy is anxious that you should have, through me, this advance information of what is proposed. I would have much preferred to have given you this message orally,

but this letter contains the substance of it.

I hope that you have now fully recovered from your recent illness.

Yours sincerely
Roger Lumley.

M. A. Jinnah, Esq.,
Bar.-at-Law, M.L.A.,
Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay.

Mr. Jinnah's Reply

Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill
July 21, 1941.

Dear Sir Roger,

I am in receipt of your letter of July 20, 1941, which embodies the message of his Excellency the Viceroy. I deeply regret the decision taken by him with the approval of his Majesty's Government. I appreciate when he says that he does not wish to embarrass me by inviting me to make suggestions, knowing, as he does, not only my general attitude but that of the All-India Muslim League. Further, I cannot approve of his having invited the Muslim League Premiers or any other Muslim Leaguer under the scheme of the expansion of the Viceroy's Council as well as what is now called the National Defence Council, because it is obvious that it would embarrass the Muslim League organisation, and I do hope and trust that his Excellency will avoid such a contingency. Besides, it is hardly fair or proper that they should be approached by his Excellency over the head of the President and the executive of the All-India Muslim League, knowing full well the position and the attitude that the All-India Muslim League has adopted.

It is stated in his message that the Viceroy regards it

as essential that the 'great Muslim community should be represented by persons of the highest prominence and capacity.' Would it be creditable for any individual prominent or capable Muslim, belonging to an organisation, to accept the invitation contrary to the position and the attitude taken up by that organisation, and would it do any credit to the Government if they succeed in alluring him and create a breach in the organisation, in the hope that he may throw up his allegiance to the party to which he belongs in order to accept the invitation of his Excellency? I maintain that the great Muslim community is represented authoritatively only by the All-India Muslim League organisation. Persistence in the course will not improve matters, but on the contrary it will lead to bitterness on the part of the Muslim League which up to the present moment, fortunately, does not exist, however emphatically we have disapproved of the policy which has been pursued by his Majesty's Government and the Viceroy.

Before I conclude, I am extremely sorry to hear that you are not well, and I hope that you will soon recover from your illness.

Thanking you for your kind inquiries. I am now much better.

Yours sincerely
M. A. Jinnah.

His Excellency Sir Roger Lumley,
Governor, Bombay.

Letter from Sir Roger Lumley to Mr. M. A. Jinnah

Government House,
Ganeshkhind, July 22, 1941.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you for your letter of July 21 the contents of

which I have passed on to the Viceroy.

I am glad to hear you have recovered. Thanks for your kind inquiry. I am much better.

Yours sincerely
Roger Lumley.

M. A. Jinnah, Esq.

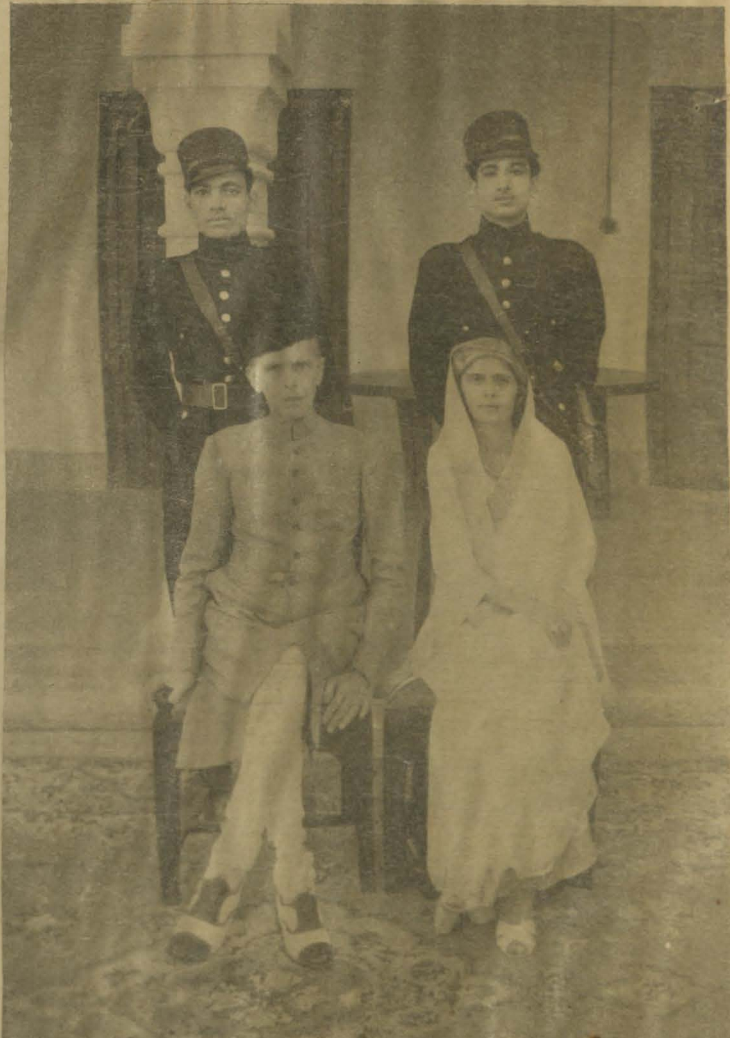
Id Message to Muslim India, October 1941

I wish Muslims a happy and prosperous Id. The month of Ramzan is the month of fasting, prayer and communion with God. It is in this month that the Holy Quran was revealed. It is primarily a spiritual discipline enjoined upon the Musalmans, but, in the performance of this duty, its value in regard to the moral discipline, and its social and physical value follow in no small degree.

It teaches you what hunger means.

It teaches you the lesson that you should be prepared for privation and to undergo a hard trial in the performance of duty. That lesson is repeated from day to day for a whole month, and its exercise develops in no small degree the moral, physical and ethical side of life. It enables you to feel that you are not a slave of food or appetite, but that you should be its master.

Its physical value also cannot be underrated ; for the rest given to the digestive organs of the body for the whole month only gives them additional health and strength, like the fallow ground which by rest becomes more productive. It is a scientific fact that all organs of the body are so made that the rest only increases their capacity for work, and the better the capacity of the digestive organs the more healthy is the physical growth of man.



Mr. M.A. Jinnah with his sister Miss F. Jinnah and their A.D.Cs. at Aligarh

make every sacrifice that is possible to consolidate, harness, and make Muslim India really a great nation, specially by building up all departments of national and individual life, such as educational, economic and social uplift, and thus help further its onward progress towards the realisation of our political goal, namely Pakistan.

Our watchword should be faith, unity and discipline.

Speech at Muslim University Union, Aligarh on 2nd November, 1941

Proceedings commenced with the recitation of the Holy Quran. Mr. Jinnah was profusely garlanded and lustily cheered on rising to speak. He warmly thanked the University students and the Muslim public of Aligarh for the great honour, affection and love they had shown him. It was a great encouragement because it showed that they were not only honouring him personally but endorsing the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League (Cheers). He hoped this would open the eyes of the world as to what was the strength behind the League.

Continuing Mr. Jinnah said, we are doing our utmost to give expression to the true Muslim feelings, so that the whole world may know as to what we stand for. I am visiting Aligarh for the second time during the course of the year.

I shall tell you as shortly as possible the story of the period between my last visit and the present. I am not going to repeat hackneyed phrases like 'the youth of to-day will be the leaders to-morrow.' But as practical man I tell you that great responsibility rests on you. The youth will have to bear the brunt of the struggle in the very near future.

The first and the most important issue is as to what is our position with regard to constitutional changes. You know that negotiations and interviews between me and the Viceroy went on for a long time. The Working Committee and the Council and the full session of the Muslim League passed many resolutions in this behalf. Briefly our position has been that as soon as circumstances permit or immediately after the war, the whole constitutional problem be examined *de novo*. The declaration of August 8, 1940, threw open the whole constitutional field for re-examination. The declaration, as amplified by the Secretary of State for India, makes it clear that the British Government are not going to impose any constitution on India, and no constitution is to be adopted except with the agreement of the major parties of this country. It means our point is met to the extent that no constitution will be foisted on us unless it meets with our approval.

The other point concerns our attitude towards war. There is no doubt that we too are in real danger. The Muslim League like practical men considered that it is in the interest of India itself that war efforts should be intensified and we should have a share and a say in the defence of the country. According to the declaration of August 1940 representatives of major political parties had to be associated with this scheme with power and authority in the government. But when the principle came to be implemented its real purpose was lost. In the course of the negotiations the Viceroy said, "I can't tell you what will be the total number of my cabinet. I can't tell you how many additional members there will be. I can't tell you what portfolios will be assigned to the members. I can't tell you as to who are the other parties coming into the cabinet. In fact I can't tell you anything. I give you two seats and that is all." Anyone with a grain of commonsense can see that they set little value on our offer of co-operation and that no self-respecting body

could accept their offer. Supposing the Congress were coming in, what would be the position of the Muslim League and our two representatives? To this the reply again was, 'I can't tell you.' Are we merely to be exploited? Are we merely to keep these two seats warm? Remember, the Congress has not yet launched their satyagraha. No one could say what attitude they would take. If Government agreed to give certain terms to the Congress, what would happen? In these circumstances it was not possible to accept the offer. If Congress did not come in, the burden of responsibility for external defence and internal order would fall mainly on Muslims. Anyone except a blind man can see that if Congress keeps out it means the solid body of Hindus keeps out and whole burden falls on the 90 millions of Musalmans. It was going to be a war contract and not merely a question of jobs. If Congress launched direct action, then the only other party left would be the Muslim League. Am I, therefore, wrong in saying that in that event I must have a majority in the reconstructed cabinet? I now say it publicly that I wanted the Hindu Congress also to come in, and join hands with us in safeguarding our homes and hearths. If I am entering into a contract to share danger and give my blood and money and Congress also comes in, then the number of Hindu and Muslim members should be equal. It was not merely a question of number, but a question of real share in authority and responsibility at the Centre and in the provinces within the framework of the present Constitution for the successful prosecution of war and the defence of the country. It was suggested even in responsible quarters that it amounted to the establishment of the two-nation theory. It is inconceivable where the two-nation theory comes in. In the reconstruction of the Executive Council within the framework of the present constitution, which, like an emergency national cabinet, had to be reconstructed, not on the basis

of counting of heads but what the heads contain. Look at the British Cabinet. You have Labour members out of all proportion to their strength in the Parliament. On the occasion of another national crisis Mr. Ramsay MacDonald had only three Labourite Ministers in his cabinet. But still they say Mr. Jinnah is bent on exacting his pound of flesh. We suffer from lack of propaganda and want of funds. But by misrepresenting us there was not going to be any gain to anybody.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, the British Government slept for a year. Then they suddenly woke up. On the 22nd July, 1941, they announced their decision about expanding the Executive Council and constituting the so-called National Defence Council. The Government in the teeth of our opposition and contrary to our decision forced this scheme upon us. They tried to manœuvre and wean some of our members by associating them with this scheme. Three of them were provincial Premiers of whom two were members of the Working Committee. Well, you know what happened. I am glad, and we have reason to be proud that the British Government have been taught a lesson. Out of evil cometh good! Muslim India from one end to another demonstrated that it was solidly behind the Muslim League. I hope in future our opponents will learn that it is futile to attempt to create disruptions in our ranks. That chapter is now closed.

The next thing is our attitude inside the Legislature. The reconstitution of the Central Government was forced upon Muslim India in total disregard of the position of the Muslim League, and as a mark of protest the Muslim League Party withdrew from the Central Legislature which is a perfectly legitimate constitutional method for a party in opposition to adopt.

What next? you will ask. Let us now consider the other issues in this country. A serious situation has been

created by the British policy in regard to Muslim countries. It has raised doubts and suspicions. You must have read of the proceedings of the last meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council. There can be no doubt that if the British Government do not make it clear as to what their intentions are regarding Muslim States, and also that they have no designs on their sovereignty and independence, I feel that it would be very difficult to control Muslim India any more.

You might have read the utterances of Hindu leaders and editorials of responsible Hindu papers. They are putting forward arguments most mischievous and dangerous but which are bound to recoil on their own heads. The opponents of Pakistan say to the British Government that if Pakistan came, a whisper in Assam would re-echo in Ankara and Istanbul, and that Pakistan was more a danger to the British than to Hindus! Therefore, they say to the British Government: ' The first need is to disrupt the Muslim States. If you disrupt them, Pakistan will be buried deep and you and we will rule India! ' It is a most foolish proposition. Don't they realise that the disruption of Muslim States means subjugation of all the peoples of India for ever?

We are told that the declaration of August 1940 gives a veto to the Muslim League. They repeat it parrot-like. Do you think that a constitution can be worked if 90 million Muslims are opposed to it? In the first instance the British Government would be very foolish if they foisted a constitution framed in consultation with Hindus only. After all, who will enforce the constitution? What will be the sanction behind it? How will it work? There is no doubt that a substantial amount of power will be transferred which means withdrawal of British authority. Who will then be left? Power will pass automatically into the hands of Hindus. It is, however, admitted by the British Government that Muslim India is a constituent factor and a vital element in the national life of this country. How then can

you have a constitution without the willing assent of the Muslim people ?

With regard to the present situation Mr. Gandhi had remarked, 'Mass action at this stage without communal unity is an invitation to civil war. If civil war is to be our lot it will come. But if I know the Congress mind, it will never come at the wish or invitation of the Congress.' I think Muslim India will feel relieved at this assurance of Mr. Gandhi! (Laughter). But why talk of civil war ? Why not apply your mind as practical men ? They are fighting for a constitution with India as a single unit in which Muslims can only be treated as a minority. That position can never be accepted by Muslims. We are on the defensive, not on the offensive. What we suggest is that we take over the government of this country under a system which we can both work. Why stick to a system which has failed for a quarter of a century ? We have failed, because the basic principles on which we work are different. What happens when two brothers cannot pull together ? They resort to partition and then they are happy. Under the Pakistan scheme we want to do the same. The Hindus will have three-fourths of India with a population of 250 millions. Is it not fair ? Should this proposal lead to civil war ? I only want a share and Mr. Gandhi wants the whole. At whose wish will the civil war come ?

Well, ladies and gentlemen, what are the Hindu leaders saying ? I will quote only one passage from the speech of a prominent erstwhile Congressman and an ex-Home Minister, Mr. Munshi. He is reported to have said, 'The State under the Pakistan scheme would not be a civil government responsible to a composite legislature consisting of all communities, but a religious State pledged to rule according to the teachings of that religion, thus by implication excluding all others not following that religion from a share in the government. One crore and thirteen lakhs

of Sikhs and Hindus would constitute a minority under the protection of the religious State of the Muslims. These Hindus and Sikhs would be on sufferance in the Punjab and would be foreigners in Hindustan ' Is it not an incitement to the Sikhs and Hindus ? Telling them that it would be a religious State, excluding them from all power, is entirely untrue. He seems to suggest that non-Muslims in Pakistan will be treated as untouchables. Let me tell Mr. Munshi that untouchability is only known to his religion and his philosophy and not ours. Islam stands for justice, equality, fairplay, toleration and even generosity to non-Muslims who may be under our protection They are like brothers to us and would be the citizens of the State. (Applause.)

A great deal has been made of the Atlantic Charter by Hindu leaders. They complain that they are excluded from it. What a calamity ! They ask for a fresh declaration, and then they think the calamity will go off. What is the use of this declaration or that declaration? As far as Muslim India is concerned, we have forged our own charter and that is Pakistan. (Cheers). And for this charter of ours we want to make it clear we will sacrifice anything and everything. Dismiss from your mind that it is a counter for bargaining or a catchword. All these inferences, all these interpretations are wrong. Propaganda is going on even in foreign countries that the Muslim League is only manœuvring to wrest as much power as possible. Mr. Gandhi said in 1939 that the Muslim League was out to sell itself to the highest bidder. It is a most reprehensible lie. We are not going to budge an inch from the position we have taken. Nothing will make us swerve from our goal. We are determined to watch and guard our own interests, and we are capable of doing it separately. (Prolonged applause.)

Full text of the Presidential Address delivered extempore at the fifth annual session of the All-India Muslim Students Federation at Nagpur on 26th December, 1941.

Members of the All-India Muslim Students Federation, ladies and gentlemen,—

Although I find a large gathering of my young friends there is also a fairly large gathering of non-students As I hinted last night, my chief object is to address particularly my young friends. The All-India Muslim Students Federation was started about four or five years ago and I would, my young friends, draw your attention in the first instance to your constitution. The aims and objects of your constitution, which you must always keep in front of you and faithfully and loyally abide by, are to organise the Muslim students of India into a corporate body through provincial autonomous units and safeguard the interests of the Muslim student community. You know that the Muslim student community has at all times and particularly in these days got to safeguard their own interests. You may have many complaints. You may have many grievances. But it is by being in a corporate body that you can have your grievances redressed. I find that you have in that direction made many efforts and you had to face many troubles. That is one of your aims and objects.

AIM

Secondly, your aim is also to rouse the political consciousness amongst the Muslim students and to prepare them to take their proper share in the struggle for the freedom of the country. It is because of this that I have accepted the honour of presiding over your session to-day. It is because of this that I want to tell you what are the issues in front of you. I want to tell you that in the language

of your own constitution—namely, to prepare you to take your proper share in the struggle for the freedom of the country. And, as such, let me shortly tell you that your Federation has made a remarkable progress in the last two years. I hope that you will grow, and grow still more. You must remember that I have repeatedly said that you are not expected to take active part in the political developments that are taking place from day to day, from week to week and from month to month ; your primary duty to yourselves, to your parents and to your nation is that you should concentrate your attention on your studies while you are students. Remember that if you fritter away your precious and valuable time in other activities, while you are students, that time frittered away, that time wasted, will never come back. But, while that is your primary duty to yourselves, to your parents and to your nation, at the same time you must keep yourselves abreast of the political, social and economic developments in the country—not only in this country but the world at large. It is for this reason that I have always willingly accepted any invitation from the gatherings of Muslim students.

Now, with regard to your domestic affairs—how you should devise ways and means of further consolidating your organisation and creating solidarity and unity among the Muslim students all over India. You will, I have no doubt, apply your mind now and after full deliberation pass such resolutions as you think proper.

LEAGUE GROWING

Next, you must remember, side by side with this preparation of yours for the future responsibilities which are bound to fall on your shoulders, that there is the All-India Muslim League organisation which is growing, and it is growing by leaps and bounds all over India. The Muslim

League, during the last three years, has made not only remarkable progress but a miraculous progress. (Cheers). You must, therefore, keep abreast of the movements and activities and developments of the All-India Muslim League and its policy and programme. My young friends, to day you compare yourselves with what was the position of the Muslims even three years ago. Five years ago it was wretched. Ten years ago you were dead.

And within three years, as I said, you have succeeded in awakening the political consciousness of Muslim India from one end to the other of this sub-continent. The Muslim League has given you a national flag. The Muslim League has given you a common platform. The Muslim League has given you a goal which in my judgment is going to lead you to the promised land where we shall establish our Pakistan. (Cheers).

People may say what they like and talk as they like. Of course, he who laughs last, laughs best.

Now what is required further is, as I have been impressing whenever I have the opportunity, a definite clear-cut, constructive programme, side by side with our political activities.

BE CHEERFUL

We feel that we have no friends. We feel that we are surrounded by opponents from all directions, and particularly about your province let me say a word. You are only four per cent in this province and you have gone through, as I said and as I anticipated in my speech as far back as 1937 at Lucknow, you have gone through the crucible of fire in this province. You have suffered. You are only four per cent in this province where an experiment is made of a new technique in the special laboratory of Wardha! No possible means were spared to terrorise you,

to hurl you down. Of course, it is obvious that the policy that was pursued was not only unjust, not only unfair, but most cowardly—to terrorise four per cent of the population. (Cries of shame, shame).

There is no reason for you to be dejected. I tell you from this platform that I never felt more proud in my life than when I saw and heard and read about the magnificent stand that the Muslims of this province took. Suffer we have to. No nation was built and ever achieved its ambition without suffering and sacrifice. Therefore, it is obvious that this wretched constitution which was enacted in 1935, and even the provincial part of it, has been a dismal failure in this country. We shall have to revise our notions and our ideals. But I want the Muslims of this province to be cheerful and keep a stout heart, and I assure you that nothing will succeed which is unjust, unfair and dishonest.

I was telling you that so far as the Muslim League is concerned we are going faster than many people imagine. In our unity, in our solidarity and in our progress in various directions, all that I urge upon you, my young friends and others present here, is that the key is in your hands. Do not depend upon anybody. You know, I will not preach aggressiveness. The Muslim League has always been on the defensive. I have always said it. It is no concession and it is no favour.

NO SURRENDER

I have always said that we have no designs on the Hindu community or any other of the sister communities. But we cannot and we shall not surrender or submit to their domination and their raj in this sub-continent.

Look at the position now. You find on the one hand the present political situation and how the different organisations,—Hindu organisations,—are active. You have

to got, in the first instance, the most powerful and the best organised Hindu body, the Congress.

I cannot understand that even to-day the Congress leaders have not the honesty and the frankness to recognise that they do not represent the Muslims. What is the use of talking about the divine *Rashtrapati*, taking him as a show-boy? Whom are you misleading except yourselves? Whom are you deluding except yourselves? You know, I know, the world knows, that to-day there is no doubt left in the mind of any man who has got a grain of commonsense that the All-India Muslim League is the only authoritative and representative organisation of the Muslims. Bardoli is still in darkness (laughter) and I pray from Nagpur, in the vicinity of Wardha and Sewagon, that God may throw some light on Bardoli!

Now, what does the Congress want? Sometimes it is difficult to know exactly what they want. It reminds me of Tennyson's words. He says: 'I sometimes think it a sin to put in words the thoughts I feel.'

CONGRESS POSITION

So far as words go and so far as any intelligent man can read those words, I will venture to say what I understand of the position of the Congress. The official resolution and the official stand of the Congress is that Congress wants the British Government to declare the independence of India immediately with the right of the people of this country to frame their own constitution by means of a constituent assembly to be elected on the basis of adult franchise. Then the Muslims will be favoured to be elected by their separate electorates. When the Muslim interests in this Assembly feel dissatisfied with the decision of the Assembly—and arithmetically it is as certain as night follows day, and I know that the Muslims will not

be satisfied, because in that constituent assembly there will be 75 per cent of Hindus, and I can give you hundreds of instances in the last three years, that on no important question has there been an agreement in any of the composite bodies that were set up where you had an overwhelming majority of the Hindus and a minority of the Muslims—the privilege that will be accorded to us is that we can resort to some sort of arbitration. Who will appoint the personnel of the tribunal of arbitration? If I have to appoint the arbitrators of my choice, will they accept it? If not, who is to choose them? If we do not agree upon the choice of the arbitrators, then what is to happen? But, apart from all that, we are told that we shall only be confined to the question of the safeguards as a minority. With regard to the other issues, the majority will decide. That, as I understand, is the official stand of the Congress.

STAND BY IT

The creed of the Congress is, as it has been recently interpreted by front rank leaders like Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, complete independence.

Mr. Jawaharlal, in a very recent speech said, in quoting Cromwell in so many words, that the British must get out of this country. Well now, if that is your stand, stand by it like a man. Do not whine. Why do you ask the British Government to make a declaration and why do you ask the British Government to give facilities for having a constituent assembly? Like a man, stand by it and say to the British 'get out' in the words of Cromwell.

Then comes the Muslim divine, Rashtrapati Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. What does he say?

The spokesman and the President of the Indian National Congress says that unless the British Government change they cannot change. But if the British Government

change, what will happen to your creed of independence? Do you want to compromise? Do you want to compromise your soul? That is what the Muslim divine says by implication.

What does Mr. Rajagopalacharya say? He says that: 'well, I think, we ought to revive the Poona offer.' The consequence of reviving the Poona offer will be no doubt that they will lose their beloved leader, Mr. Gandhi, a great specialist and a great expert in coercing and blackmailing the British authorities to part with power.

MR. GANDHI

Mr. Gandhi has always been saying: 'I am against all wars, I cannot help any war even if the defence of my own country is concerned; if Hitler comes, let him walk over our bodies, and we will offer the *satyagraha*.' But what did he do when the Poona offer was made, which was, of course, made on the basis that if the British Government conceded the Congress demand there was no doubt that the Congress would take the fullest part in the prosecution of the war and in defending India and England? Mr. Gandhi was so shocked that he could not remain any more as the general of the Congress, although he is not even a four-anna member of the Congress. He said that as a specialist and general, 'I cannot carry on with it.'

What did he do? You remember that the very next day he gave an interview to the British press, strongly recommending to the British Government not to lose the opportunity but grasp the Poona offer, and if they did not, they will be making their greatest blunder.

A man, who is against all wars, a man who believes in *ahimsa*, a man who says that the Congress has gone against his life-long conviction and ideal of *ahimsa* and, therefore, he cannot be with the Congress, the very next morning gives

an interview to the British press, supporting the Poona offer.

Therefore, it is difficult to understand what the Congress wants and what the Congress is driving at.

PRETENSIONS

Then we have Mr. Rajagopalacharya. He seems to be in a very chastened mood. He thinks it futile to go to jail over and over again.

They are all meeting now in Bardoli. In the Congress itself, you have Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Jawaharlal and Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya, and these three say three different things.

I ask you, as intelligent men, as people who must try and come to some conclusion, I ask what is the conclusion you come to? The obvious conclusion that one can come to is this, that the Congress is pretending and posing to be on the highest pedestal. These poses and pretensions are nothing but a by-play.

They have their other counterparts who are working, and those counterparts are, in the first instance, the Hindu Mahasabha. Of course, the Hindu Mahasabha, so far as the Muslims are concerned, does not mince words. Their leaders are quite clear. Mr. Savarkar in his recent speech, which was unfortunately not delivered at Bhagalpur, does not mince words. He makes it quite clear that 'I stand for my nation and the Hindu domination.' He says in clear language that in this sub-continent 'Hindu raj must be established; that if the Muslims do not behave, they will annex Afghanistan and carry the frontier to Hindukush. The sooner the Muslims realise this position the better for them. The Muslims cannot get one iota more concession than as a minority.' That is quite clear. All I say is that Dr. Moonje, Mr. Savarkar and their colleagues are running amuck, and they are doing the greatest possible harm to the Hindus and the least harm to the Muslims. I am glad that

they make it clear, not, like the Congress, finessing and concealing their real thoughts and playing in diplomatic language, none of that. And I am glad to say that neither the Congress nor anybody else now, thank God, can fool the Muslims.

MAHASABHA AMBITION

What is the Hindu Mahasabha doing? Its ambition is to militarise and industrialise the Hindus, urge the Hindu to join the Army, the Navy and the Air Force and support the war. Militarise what? Industrialise what? The Hindu nation? I ask Mr. Savarkar and field marshal Moonje: Do you think that everybody in this country is a fool? Do you think that you can fool the British? Why this sort of talk and why this lip-loyalty of co-operation with an ulterior motive of filling the ranks of the Army, the Navy and the Air Force by Hindus? And then what will they do? The answer is clear. Then they say, 'Pakistan will evaporate into the air, and the British will go back to London town and settle down there.' Don't you think that these gentlemen who talk like this should be locked up somewhere?

My young friends, the Hindu Mahasabha is dreaming. Dreaming of what? They do not make any secret of it. Why is it that they are against Pakistan? Why? Our proposal of Pakistan is not inimical to them if they honestly and dispassionately examine it.

The Muslim says: Give me those parts of India where we are in a majority and where I have got my homeland. Let me live there under my own rule and I undertake to protect the non-Muslim minority. You live in the Hindu India proper and you can protect the Muslim minority. You have three-fourths.

THE WHOLE

But they do not want three-fourths; they want the whole. How are they going to get the whole? What is Mr. Savarkar's scheme? His scheme is that when he gets 75 per cent of the Hindus in the Army, in the Navy and the Air Force and in the administration—and by that time I think field marshal Moonje will see to it that every Hindu eats meat—he will then see that Hindu raj is established!

What is to happen to those Muslims who are in the north-west and the north-east? What will happen to those frontiers? It is this. The frontiers will be occupied by the Hindu garrison just as the British garrison is occupying the north-west. Instead of the British it will be the Hindu garrison, entirely composed of Hindus, who will see and make it their business to see that the Muslims in those parts are not allowed to raise their heads. They will establish a central government and that central government will have the supreme control over the entire sub-continent. Of course, Afghanistan might be added later on. And thereby Muslim India will never get even to the point of obtaining any kind of responsible government but certainly not to the point of developing themselves to a status or position of an independent State. In other words their rights are gone for ever, the right to the status of an independent country with their own army, air force and navy in those parts of the sub-continent.

Gentlemen, when we come to think of it, not only it is a dream but it is the greatest folly to persist in the position as the Hindu Mahasabha is doing.

SINISTER MOTIVE

What is the demand of the Hindu Mahasabha? Now they have given up every demand except 'Bhagalpur.' That

will be settled within a few days. They say to the British: 'We are willing to be your camp followers, we are willing to serve you in any capacity you want; you throw open the Army, the Navy and the Air Force to the Hindus; we will do what you want.'

But while they are saying this with a sinister and insidious motive, which no one can mistake for anything else, at the same time they are pressing for the establishment of Hindudom through another brother. He says: 'You must fix a time-limit and give India Dominion status of the Westminster variety.'

Who is to give it? The British Government? I ask, is it not, on the face of it, futile and absurd? In the first instance, the British Government cannot do it. But even if they do it, do you expect the British Government to put Savarkar on the *gaddi* and do the policing of his raj? What is the sanction behind this constitution of Dominion status of the Westminster variety? How is that to be given? As Mr. Amery rightly says, it is not a decoration or medal that can be attached to your buttonhole with a safety pin. It is a question of running the government of this sub-continent. Do you want that the British bayonet should keep you on the *gaddi*? Do you expect it?

TIME-LIMIT

That is their demand. I ask you, what is behind this demand? It cannot be very obtuse. Let us give some credit to the opponent's intelligence, however stupid they may be. What are they driving at? You will see that the Mahasabha puts a time-limit, within a year or two after the war, and wants that the British Government must undertake and promise to give India Dominion status of the Westminster variety. What does it mean? If the British Government makes a declaration to-day, that within a year

or two, after the war, they solemnly undertake and declare that they shall establish in this country a government similar to Canada, as Dominion of the Westminster variety, it means that the constitution will no longer be framed with the consent of the major parties; in other words, the consent of the Muslims is not necessary. Then with whose approval will the British Government give the constitution? Of course, the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha. If they are satisfied, and even if the Muslims are not satisfied, that does not matter, the British Government will say: 'we have given our promise and we must enact the constitution.' I want to know if the constitution is enacted as promised, whether it means the withdrawal of the British military forces? Then what is the sanction behind it? Let me tell you that in the first instance the British are not such fools; even if they do commit such a folly, let me tell you that that constitution will not last for a fortnight. (Cheers).

THE BROTHERS

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru says: Make a declaration of India's independence. Sir T. B. Sapru, who is most subtle and plausible—therefore all the more treacherous—also says the same thing. You can see the family likeness. What does he say? In his statement of December 25 he says: India must be made to feel that in doing the best they can for the war effort, they are not only discharging their obligation to the Commonwealth but are also fighting for the preservation of their free life.' He recommends first that a new declaration that India would no longer be treated as a dependency be made forthwith. One brother says, declare India independent. The other brother says, declare that India will no longer be treated as a dependency. Can you see the distinction between the two? Why does

Sir T. B. Sapru and the liberals talk like this?

In a recent speech what does Mr. Sastri say? He says the same thing in another language—the same family resemblance. He says that we must give all the safeguards to the Muslims, consistently with national interests. Whose national interests? Which nation? Hindu or Muslim? Therefore, the more you examine it the same you will find—the same song of Hindudom.

I want to impress upon you on what lines the Hindu leaders are going and how they are all aiming at the same thing, more or less, speaking in different languages. One is more plausible, while the other is more blunt. But they all mean the same thing—namely, Central Government with all-India as a single unit, a united India which means Hindu majority rule, not a political majority but the majority of one nation and one society over another nation and another society. They want that you must be reduced to the position of an all-India minority. You will only be given such necessary safeguards as a minority as will not be inconsistent with the national interests of the Hindus.

Ladies and gentlemen, that means that not only where we are in a minority but also where we are in the majority, the entire Muslim community will come under the heel of the Hindu raj and will be treated and kept down as a minority to look to their orders and work under their yoke. That is a position which the Muslims will never accept as long as the last Muslim is alive. (Applause). The sooner they give up this sort of camouflage the better.

ANOTHER BLITZ

Why are these statements pouring in just at this Christmas time? The Hindu leaders, in their statesmanship, imagine that Britain is now in the grip of a more dreadful struggle after the Japanese entry into the war.

This time England is under such stress and feels so embarrassed and so moved that she must seek help somewhere. Their resources and preparations may not be sufficient to meet the new Japanese menace. So they think that England is now shaky and that this is the time to start another blitz of agitation, and under the stress of these developments coerce the British Government and stampede them to make some commitment in favour of Hindu India. Their hopes are raised to a certain extent, because in the first instance the Government of India is supposed to have made a gesture in releasing a certain class of prisoners. They are further encouraged because of the ignorance of the British press. When you read those newspapers, you cannot help being amused at their utter ignorance of the condition in India. They write according to their light. In those articles the Hindu leaders find that the British are nervous, and that this is the proper time for them. That is why these plethora of statements are being issued.

It is because of this that the Congress is still contemplating. They sat for nine hours on the first day at Bardoli. They had another nine hours on the following day. They will sit for many mcre days. You know, they are clever people. They may keep a loophole here and another loophole there to save their neck. Because, after all, what will happen? If Mr. Rajagopalacharya succeeds, Mr. Gandhi retires. It does not make any difference. Mr. Gandhi is not even a four-anna member of the Congress. But he will always remain a member of the Congress as a non-member of the Congress!

It is now announced to the world that the A. I. C. C. will meet on January 15 next. The world must wait with pulsating heart and await the decision of the A. I. C. C. at Wardha. But let me tell you that it is not going to move us by a hair's breadth.

13 POINTS

I will read the latest of Mr. Gandhi. He has formulated his 13 points as a constructive programme to attain *Purna Swaraj.* Mr. Gandhi is not long-winded, and you can put any interpretation on whatever he says, and he can put any interpretation on whatever he writes, whenever he likes. (Laughter). I think this is pretty clear. He says that the first item is communal unity. By communal unity they mean that they want the Muslims to surrender and submit to the Congress and sign their own death warrant. Then comes removal of untouchability, prohibition (on which point they will not find us differing), khadi, village industries, village sanitation, basic education, adult education, uplift of women, education of health and hygiene, propaganda of *rashtrabhasha*, love of one's language and working for economic equality. Economic equality with whom? With the British and not with us!

One important amendment I would make is to add that the Congress accept Pakistan and thus make it 14 points! This will make settlement very easy. As to the question of the language, love of one's language and working for economic equality, we will not have to quarrel over it. We will speak what we think proper as our mother tongue in our zones where we want to rule as an independent country, and you speak whatever you think proper. (Cheers.)

PURNA SWARAJ

Mr. Gandhi may say what he likes. He has picked up this issue of freedom of speech. He is only fighting for the freedom of speech, he says. Read the latest statement of the high priest of the Congress. There is no doubt left that there is only one method left which he has picked up for coercing and embarrassing the authorities: to make them

bend and yield to this troublesome nuisance that he is creating by the individual *satyagraha* not for freedom of speech but for, as he himself says, 'the construction of *Purna Swaraj* or complete independence.' Referring to civil disobedience he says that it can never be applied for general terms such as for independence. The issue must be definite and capable of being clearly understood and within the power of the opponent to yield. This method properly supplied, he says, must lead to the final goal.

What is the final goal, I ask? Not freedom of speech but *Purna Swaraj*. Do you believe that he is fighting for freedom of speech? Does any man with commonsense believe it? He is fighting for the final goal. This is only one method of compelling the opponent to yield on this point. Then will come another point, and then another. This is behind Mr. Gandhi's *satyagraha*.

IGNORANCE

I think I have taken all this trouble in order to make my young friends understand the true position in the country, because, I regret to say, I find a colossal amount of ignorance among the Muslim intelligentsia and student community.

The Congress is against any war effort. They must preach and shout slogans for the prevention of war effort. But what have they done in Sind? There the Congress Party is supporting Mr. Allah Bux, although he is supporting the war effort. Not only is he supporting the war effort but he has actually accepted the nomination in that so-called National Defence Council. When the question was raised, Mr. Gandhi left it conveniently to the Parliamentary Committee. And this Parliamentary Committee decided that 'the peculiar circumstances of Sind were such that the Congress Party should not withdraw the support from the

Premier, Mr. Allah Bux.'

What did the Congress Party do in Assam? They are willing to support Mr. Chowdhry who mysteriously left the coalition party of which he was a member and by virtue of which he was a member of the ministry. He has formed another party. What is the position of the Congress? They were ready and willing to support the ministry of Mr. Chowdhry. But the monkey came in to do justice between the two cats and Section 93, instead, has come in. Now both Sir Saadullah and Chowdhry can go to rest.

And in Bengal what is the Congress Party doing? The Congress Party has supported this new coalition ministry formed by Mr. Haq, and by virtue of it he was able to form a Government and continue to be the Premier. It was by virtue of Mr. Haq being the Premier, Lord Linlithgow announced, that the latter will now have the honour of the support of this great Premier who will now be, as Pemier of Bengal, a member of this so-called National Defence Council. The Congress is supporting him!

Now I make a Christmas gift of Mr. Haq to Lord Linlithgow! (Cheers). I make another New Year's gift of the Nawab of Dacca to the Governor of Bengal! I am very glad and I am happy that Muslim India is rid of these men who are guilty of the grossest treachery and betrayal of the Muslims.

This shows that no man is indispensable to our organisation. If he is a traitor or a quisling he must be expelled. We shall now march more honourably and become stronger when we have weeded out this class of treacherous individuals. Now no power on earth can stop us from going forward and growing strong.

OUR POSITION

My young friends, with re ard to the British Govern-

ment and the League, I think I need not take up much of your time. Our position has been made repeatedly clear. Only the day before yesterday I issued a statement to the *News-Chronicle* clarifying our position. Our position is just and I have no doubt it will continue to be so. I think no man, who has got the slightest sense of justice and fairness, can blame us. Our position has been that we recognise the common danger to Britain and India. We recognise the common peril. In the interests of our own people and to protect our own homes and hearths, we are willing to take our share in this peril. But we cannot do that successfully unless we are placed in a position of having real and genuine share in the responsibility and authority of the Government at the Centre and in the Provinces.

The British Government are responsible for wasting these more than two years, and I think that if they go on delaying like this, they will regret and rue the day for allowing this sincere, honest and straightforward offer of the Muslim League to lapse.

SOLIDARITY

In the end I say to you one thing more. Muslims, you must maintain complete unity and solidarity amongst yourselves. Nobody can help you if you quarrel among yourselves, and you will go asunder. Therefore, maintain unity and solidarity. I want you that, however much you may be moved, however much you may feel wronged, whatever may be your grievances, you should not resort to any individual action which will prejudice or jeopardise our cause and precipitate matters.

No individual action, I mean of resistance or defiance of law and order, should be adopted by any individual. Not even the District League, not even the Provincial League should do so. Keep yourselves absolutely united and solid

and wait. When the order comes from the All-India Muslim League then I will be the first to march with you. At no time was it more necessary than at this very critical and dangerous time that you should implicitly pledge and selflessly surrender yourselves to our watchword—*Faith, unity* and *discipline.* (Continued applause.)

Statement on British Policy, 2nd January 1942.

"If any new declaration is made on the part of the British Government, departing from the declaration of August 8, 1940 as to the future constitution of India, or any proposal or move, which in any way would militate against the Muslim demand for Pakistan, or prejudge it, or denounce it in any way, as seems to be the main effort of the Hindu leaders, it will not only create an unprecedented catastrophe but result in grave disaster at this critical juncture of the war and war efforts, apart from the fact that it will constitute a gross breach of faith with Muslim India," said Qaid-i-Azam Jinnah in an interview given to the Associated Press.

Continuing the Qaid-i-Azam said: Muslim India has made its position clear by the resolution of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee at Nagpur, on December 27, 1941.

With regard to the immediate issue, *viz.* the prosecution of war and war efforts, the Muslim League has from the very beginning been ready and willing, without prejudice to the major political issues, to shoulder the burden of the defence of the country, singly or in co-operation with other parties, on the basis that real share and responsibility is given to Muslim India in the authority of the governments at the Centre and the Provinces, within the frame-

work of the present existing constitution. But so far no serious heed has been paid to this policy of the All-India Muslim League by the British Government.

CONGRESS TACTICS

My attention has been drawn to the Congress resolution, passed recently at Bardoli, and it is very difficult for me to understand what those resolutions really mean, except, as I understand, that they have not moved by a hair's breadth from the original demand for an immediate unconditional declaration of India's independence and freedom with the right of the people to frame their own constitution through a constituent assembly, to be elected by means of adult franchise on the basis of a united and democratic India. This clearly means setting up of the Hindu raj, which Muslim India will never accept.

Muslim India is fighting and struggling for survival and for its right to self-determination, whereas Congress and other Hindu organisations are speeding to establish supremecy and domination over the Muslims as an All-India minority by establishing one central government over the whole of India, and thus to dominate and control even those zones where the Muslims are in a solid majority and interfere even in their internal affairs by virtue of the vital powers which must remain vested in the central government, such as Defence, Communications, Customs and Finance and various other executive and administrative powers.

Speech at the Flag-hoisting Ceremony in Calcutta.

" When we say that we want Pakistan, when we say that we want our own governments in those zones where we

have our own homelands and where we are in a majority, it does not mean in any way injustice or ill-will to the Hindus," declared Mr. M. A. Jinnah, hoisting the League flag at Mohammad Ali Park.

Mr. Jinnah was taken from the Howrah Station to the Park in a mile-long procession.

"Up to the present moment," Mr. Jinnah observed, "Muslims were absolutely demoralised. Our blood had become cold, our flesh was not capable of working and the Muslim nation was, for all practical purposes, dead. To-day we find that our blood circulation is improving. Our flesh is getting stronger and, above all, our mind is getting more clarified.

In spite of the declaration of their claim for Pakistan and own governments in those zones where Muslims were in a majority, Mr. Jinnah pointed out, if the Hindus still thought that their demands meant ill-will to them or they had any designs they were doing a great blunder for which they would have to pay more than the Muslims.

DESIGNS

On the contrary, it is quite clear, it is clear even to a child, that their machinations, their designs, or their scheming is intended to establish Hindu raj for the entire sub-continent, and particularly to crush and to keep their Muslim countrymen under their heels. In that they will never succeed and time will show that.

Concluding Mr. Jinnah said, "Bengali Muslims will stand like one man along with the rest of India and the rest of India will stand like one man with Bengal."

Amidst scenes of great rejoicings and thundering shouts of "Allah o-Akbar," "Pakistan Zindabad," etc., Muslim League flag was duly hoisted by Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

MESSAGE TO BENGAL

"My message to the Muslims of Bengal is that they should stand absolutely solid and united under the banner of the All-India Muslim League and follow the policy of the Muslim League fanatically, if necessary, or else they are doomed." Thus observed Qaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah in his message to the Muslims of Bengal.

Continuing the Qaid-i-Azam said: They must not trust or believe traitors, quislings and fifth columnists, who are capable of any amount of unscrupulous and untruthful propaganda for their own selfish purposes. Muslim India, from one end to the other of this sub-continent, is behind Bengal and Muslims all over India are not prepared to fall into this sinister plea of foreign Muslims in Bengal. Do not be misled that Bengal Muslims can stand alone on their own legs without their whole-heartedly joining the rest of Muslim India.

If any province is going to gain what the Muslims have lost and have suffered for the last 200 years, Bengal stands to gain the most for which the rest of the Muslims are prepared to suffer and sacrifice where they are in a minority. Next it is the Punjab that is going to benefit most.

It is these zones, the north-west and eastern zones, which are our homelands and where we are in a majority, where we want to live as free men and establish our governments with a complete guarantee of security of the minorities.

NO QUARREL

We have no quarrel with the Hindus. It is the Hindus who are obsessed with the idea that they are the rightful successors and heirs of the British raj and that they will dominate not only in those parts of the sub-continent where

Muslims are in a minority, but even where they are in a majority. Hence all the time they are resorting to machinations of various kinds under the guise of establishing a national government or united and democratic India.

Muslim India will never accept any central government, unitary, federal or any other type, where the arithmetical calculations and counting of heads will decide the fate of a hundred millions of Muslims. This will never happen, and time will show that. (Cheers.)

Full text of the Presidential Address delivered by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, at the plenary session of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League Conference held at Serajganj on Sunday, February 15, 1942.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am thankful to you for having honoured me by inviting me to preside over your Provincial Muslim League conference. I accepted your invitation all the more readily because of the political developments that have taken place during the recent months. You are in the whirlwind of a political storm in Bengal. I have come here to tell you what I think of the situation.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Muslim League has many opponents. We are going through a life and death struggle. We have made it clear over and over again that we are organising our people and have no quarrel with the Hindus or any other community, large or small, in this sub-continent. We have repeatedly declared that the cardinal principle and aim of the Muslim League is to safeguard the political rights and status of the Musalmans of India. We have been on the defensive all along and what have we been wanting? We want to live in this land as free and independent people and not under the *raj* or the government of anyone else. The arrogance, the hatred and the

aggressiveness that is demonstrated by the Hindu leaders that we must live as the minority people, under the domination of the Hindu majority is patent. It is that policy, that programme, that aggressiveness and that offensive and arrogant attitude against which we are fighting. The Muslims in India are a nation.

They will not submit to any position other than that of complete equality with the Hindu community in this country. Now, as I have said, we have our opponents. The British Government are no particular friends of the Musalmans. They have their policy and their programme just as much as the Hindus have theirs and we have ours. In the political world there is neither real justice nor fair-play. Every act and every decision is guided unfortunately by self-interest. We cannot look to the British Government or to anyone else for justice and fairplay. We must stand on our own legs and rely on our own strength if we are to achieve anything in this world. We must be prepared to stand alone and make our sacrifices if we are to achieve equality and then alone we shall be able to achieve and establish Pakistan in this land.

BENGAL HORIZON

Now let us view the political position of the day. Let us cast our eyes on the horizon of Bengal. Ladies and gentlemen, this wretched Constitution, to begin with, under which your provincial legislature functions to-day, is not of our making. The Constitution in itself is a gross injustice to the thirty-five millions of Muslims living in this province. Of course, it will serve no useful purpose if we blame someone or the other. We have to realise and we have to confess that it is our own fault to a considerable extent that the thirty-five million Muslims in one Muslim State, Bengal, had fallen and fallen to such depths that the voice of

Muslim Bengal was dead. In these dreadful conditions, to our shame, the present Constitution was enacted almost *ex parte*, if I may be allowed to say, so far as Muslim India was concerned.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Bengal Legislative Assembly consists of 250 members. Of these you have 122 or 123, including the special constituencies. These figures will demonstrate to you that from the very word ",go" we are a minority. How can this minority possibly run a government with a workable and practical majority? A Muslim League ministry cannot be formed that will be stable. For the same reason a Muslim League ministry in the Punjab or even in Sind cannot be formed. Those who are fond of arithmetical calculations misrepresent when they say that in a Muslim majority province they can form a Muslim League ministry.

LAND OF LOTUS

At the time of the general elections in the year 1936-37, I came to this land of the lotus. I toured Dacca, Mymensingh, Comilla and other places and discovered that Muslim Bengal was practically dead. I found men who were out to exploit the people to gain their own ends; to exploit the people for the purpose of being returned to the legislatures. This was the condition of Bengal. It was the Muslim League which was admittedly till then an academic body that awakened to the realities of the situation and undertook the duty of organising the Muslims and of contesting the elections. A provincial Parliamentary Board was established and Muslim League candidates were put up for election. Remember, Bengal is a continent in herself. With our young and poor organisation we captured no less than 66 seats in the Assembly and became the largest single party that was returned to the House. The Krishak-Proja

Party contested the election as well. Mr. Fazlul Haq was then the champion of the Projas. His party won some seats. After the elections he conveniently forgot the Projas and others and became, by joining the Muslim League, the leader of the largest party in the Assembly. Not only did he throw over the Projas and the others but he became a member of the Muslim League and preached the creed of the League all over the province keeping in his pocket at the same time the small Proja group.

FORMER MINISTRY

Ladies and gentlemen, the ministry that resigned recently was never a Muslim League Ministry; it was only dominantly a Muslim League Ministry. This dominant Muslim League Ministry was in power when we were faced with a new question. You know when the scheme of the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council came to be considered, it was known as the 8th of August offer. That offer was considered by the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League of which Mr. Fazlul Haq was a member. It was unanimously resolved that it be not accepted and the offer was not accepted. The offer was also considered by the Council of the Muslim League and the decision of the Working Committee was endorsed by it. Mr. Fazlul Haq was also a member of the Council. The Council's decision was further confirmed by the session of the All-India Muslim League. Without reference to the President of the All-India Muslim League, his Excellency the Viceroy decided to expand his Executive Council and to set up the so-called Indian National Defence Council. It was nothing but the very offer the Muslim League had rejected. In the terms of the offer the Muslim League would have been entitled to choose its two representatives on the Executive Council whereas the Governor-General selected and nomi-

nated two Muslims on his own. This, you will agree, was adding insult to injury. I ask you, if it was possible for any self-respecting organisation or for any individual with a shred of self-respect to agree to accept such an offer? (No, no, from the audience). Mr. Fazlul Haq accepted nomination on the National Defence Council (shame, shame) secretly without reference to the President and without consulting the Working Committee. When the news was published it was found that there were others also who had accepted such appointment, but be it said to the honour of the others that both Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and Sir Mohammad Saadullah bowed to the decision of the Working Committee and resigned from the Defence Council.

(Cheers).

MR. HAQ'S PET GAME

The third Muslim League Premier, a premier that Bengal has produced, I do not know how but it is certainly difficult for any part of the world to produce another like him, wanted time to consider whether he should resign from or remain on the Defence Council. Mr. Haq has a pet game that we all know so well. We know when he plays it. When in difficulty Mr. Haq always either wants time or falls ill.

The Working Committee did not refuse him time because the Working Committee is a sensible, responsible and considerate body. He was given ten days to come to a decision. He was informed that if he did not resign within that time disciplinary action would be taken against him. He decided, after resorting to many tricks which are public property, to resign from the Defence Council but with what grace? You have all read the contents of the letter that he addressed to the Secretary of the All-India Muslim League on the 8th of September, 1941. He made many vile, undignified, false and unjustified accusations against

the President, the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League. Remember, up till then the Council had not even considered the matter of Mr. Fazlul Haq's action. It was naturally impossible for any self-respecting organisation to permit such libellous and scandalous allegations against its President, the Working Committee and the Council. He went on and on trying to tax the patience of every respectable Muslim in the country and ultimately, you may say, surrendered to the demand of the League in substance if not in form. He requested us, after his reaffirmation of loyalty and assurance that he meant no insult or reflection on the President or any member, to treat the whole incident as closed. The Working Committee in its magnanimity worthy of a great organisation complied with his request and considered the incident as closed. The file had barely been put away when most startling developments took place in Bengal from which it was as patent as daylight that Mr. Fazlul Haq had made exhaustive and elaborate preparations for many months.

THE PROGRESSIVE

He encouraged the formation of a progressive group of a few Muslim members in the Assembly with himself as leader. Remember, ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Haq was at that time a member of the Muslim League, President of the Provincial League, leader of the Muslim League group in the Assembly, leader of the Coalition Party, member of the Council of the All-India Muslim League and member of the All-India Working Committee. Further, he started a daily newspaper in Bengali named the *Nava Joog* which boldly displayed the following words, "conducted by Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq." The policy of this was to abuse the League and all that it stood for!

On the resignation of the last ministry, he went round

collecting signatures. I was told that he collected the signatures of 119 members of the Assembly and petitioned the Governor to commission him to form a ministry as leader of the 'Progressive Coalition Party', a party of multifarious and conflicting political and economic interests, a party created overnight to destroy Muslim solidarity and to bring confusion in their ranks. I ask you—I have not given you many details—I ask you for your verdict. Is this not the greatest betrayal of not only the Muslim League but the Muslims of Bengal and of the whole of India? Is this not a case of betrayal and treachery to the Coalition Party of which he was the leader for over 4½ years? Yes, it was.

GOVERNOR AND CRISIS

Now let us try and understand the stand taken by his Excellency the Governor in this crisis. Can we believe that the Governor was ignorant of the facts that I have placed befor you: that he did not know much more than we did of the actual situation of the time? We have no intelligence department, but the Governor has. The Governor instead of following the course that has been established by convention in the British Parliament to call the leader of the largest single party, called a man who had been conspiring even as the head of the Government of Bengal—a man who was canvassing for support with his hat in hand before being commissioned—an act, to my mind, highly improper and derogatory to the honour and prestige of a person who claims to be a leader—a man who had actually petitioned the Governor to be a leader—a man who had actually petitioned the Governor to commission him to form a ministry. The encouragement of such a practice is, I say with emphasis, unknown to any system of parliamentary government in the world. Signatures are not obtained, most of them at least, for the mere asking. Promises have

to be made. Is this not encouraging corrupt practice among your legislators? The Coalition Party having been dissolved, his Excellency should have called the leader of the largest single party which was unquestionably the Muslim League Party. Its leader Sir Nazimuddin should have been commissioned first. He ought to have been the first man to tell the Governor whether he could or could not form a ministry. Sir Nazimuddin is a responsible leader with a clean reputation. He has held responsible positions long before this constitution came into operation. Since the inauguration of the present constitution until the day that the cabinet resigned he had been in charge of the most important portfolio, namely Home. As I have said, his record is clean, he is a responsible man and has acquitted himself honourably throughout his career. It was for Sir Nazimuddin to decide whether he would accept the commission to form a ministry or not. If he made a mistake and said to his Excellency, "yes, I will," and had he failed to do so or was defeated by a vote of no-confidence, it would have been the funeral of the League and not the funeral of the Governor. The Governor did not give him an opportunity to face a funeral and commissioned, as I have said a few minutes ago, a person holding in his hand an application over the signatures of 119 members obtained, how, God alone knows! Even this mighty man with his mighty majority could not present to his Excellency with a complete list of ministers. The names were given in instalments. Although he had sufficient time he did not face the legislature with a full list of ministers.

PRESENT MINISTRY

To-day Bengal has nine ministers. Believe me I shall not be a bit surprised if this nine is expanded to reach astronomical figures in the course of time as and when it suits

Mr. Fazlul Haq and as and when he finds power slipping through his fingers. On my arrival in Calcutta another really ingenious and ridiculous decision of the Ministry was flashed in the press. It was stated that the Government were appointing 13 whips (interruptions and shouts: 17, 17). The number was 13 when I reached Calcutta, in Serajganj the number has risen to 17 and God alone knows how many more will be added to it later! I put it to the Governor if he can quote any parallel in any legislature in any part of the world where 17 whips are required in a House of 250? I ask the Governor if in his own country in a Parliament of over 600 members there are 17 whips?

I do not know how many parliamentary secretaries will be appointed. Let us presume that there will be seventeen parliamentary secretaries; then the ministers plus the parliamentary secretaries plus the whips and plus a few more jobs here and there will bring the total to about 50 persons who will be kept together by virtue of direct patronage in the legislature. Therefore, out of the 119 Mr. Fazlul Haq has almost 50 who will be there with him just for jobs. This, ladies and gentlemen, is the position of the Ministry that is in power to-day in the province of Bengal.

Now I come to another important matter, because it vitally concerns the Muslims of the province. The Muslim League Party is in the opposition and is, therefore, so long as the Constitution is in operation, entitled to approach the Muslims and to appeal to their electorate against the misdeeds of the Government in power. We are not interfering with the Hindus at all. We are going to our own people and, surely, are we not entitled to do so? We want to tell the electorate of the treachery of Mr. Fazlul Haq. We want to tell them and prove to them how Mr. Fazlul Haq is doing incalculable harm to the Muslims of Bengal and to the Muslims of the whole of India. We want to tell them the truth and Mr. Huq hates this. We want to tell

them to call upon the representatives they have sent to the legislature to come to their senses. We want to tell them that these men are causing fatal injury to Muslim interests. Surely we cannot be denied this right. In no country where a constitutional form of government is in operation is this fundamental right denied. Our men are being persecuted and prosecuted. The penal codes of the country are being wrongly utilised. The Defence of India Act, the use of which is permitted only in certain cases and conditions, is being openly abused. I do not know what to say. Is it the Bengal Government or the Bengal misgovernment that is in the saddle ? It is the special responsibility of his Excellency the Governor to see that his ministers do not abuse power and the sooner the Governor acts in the matter the better will it be for the peace of the province. As I have said, every effort is being made to prevent us from appealing to the people. Mr. Fazlul Haq realises more than anyone else in the province that almost 99 per cent of the Bengal Muslims are against him and those who have betrayed the Muslim cause. They dare not face openly and place their case before the people. They want to stop us. We want to tell the truth, they tell the untruth.

They wish to suppress constitutional agitation by abusing the Defence of India Act and other penal laws. Let me say from this platform and I say with full responsibility and without the least hesitation that if his Excellency does not intervene and if this shameful policy is persisted in, there will arise in Bengal such a situation that no power, not even this wretched Government of Bengal, has ever seen. In Bengal will arise a situation for which there is no parallel in her history during the British raj. We shall not be suppressed, oppressed or tyrannised by this wretched Ministry, a Ministry that does not represent the Musalmans, a Ministry whose Chief Minister and Muslim Ministers do not enjoy Muslim confidence and have completely forfeited it. I also

hope that the eyes of the Viceroy will be opened soon to the new situation that has arisen in Bengal.

If any party desires to challenge our assertion that we alone represent the Musalmans of Bengal let us dissolve the Assembly and go to the polls. Let us go to our people and we shall prove that our claim is not exaggerated but is fully justified. I considered it my bounden duty to leave my many commitments and to come to Bengal to appeal to the Musalmans of the province—to tell them that it is in their hands to put matters right. With unity the Musalmans can achieve everything they desire. To defeat Mr. Haq and his Ministry will be as easy as falling off a log. I was not sure whether Muslim Bengal had grasped and realised the danger of Mr. Haq's move. That is why I came here and I am happy to find that 99 per cent of the Muslims of Bengal are with the Muslim League and they have understood the game. The Muslims of Calcutta and the Muslims assembled from all over the province at Serajganj have proved this. I am sure Muslim Bengal will stand firm and united under this great flag of ours and I am sure we shall win.

The Muslim League does not exist for ministers and ministries. On the other hand, it is the ministers and ministries who can only exist if the Muslim League approves of them. (Cheers). This I want to make clear. We will not allow anyone to exploit the League for the purpose of becoming a minister and to utilise the League as the ladder of his personal ambition. I say again, let it be clear here and now and once and for all. Let there be no mistake. We shall not allow men to sneak in and before anyone takes such a step we shall see that he is hurled back.

ALL-INDIA ISSUES

Ladies and gentlemen, I have spoken enough on Bengal for to-day. Let me proceed to other important matters.

We have got to consider all-India issues as well and I think I shall be failing in my duty if I do not express to you my views. So far as the Congress is concerned I find that in their language and in their tone there is less aggressiveness and less arrogance. In the recent speeches of Mr. Rajagopalacharya I find—I shall not express in my own language but I shall quote his own—it is nice of him to pay me a compliment and I thank him for it. "There has been no settlement between the Government and the people and the principal political organisations, over whom such illustrious persons as Mahatma Gandhi and Qaid-i-Azam Jinnah preside. These were not small individuals—one had become as famous as the other and both of them were tremendously popular in the country. Each had a blind following, let it be so ; but it was a true following."

Note the words "true following." Mr. Rajagopalacharya admits that your president has a true follwing. I am proud of it and I am honoured. He goes on to say :

"Here were, then, two powerful popular organisations of Hindus and Muslims, both at war with the Government and, therefore, with all the operations of the Government." These were facts.

This is the first time that one of the foremost leaders of the Congress has had the courage and frankness to admit that the Congress is a Hindu organisation ; and he has uttered the truth. I appeal to Mr. Gandhi to bow before the truth and to declare that the Congress represents the Hindus and the Muslim League the Muslims of India. Then and only then there is hope for the two communities to meet on terms of equality and on no other terms can they meet.

PAKISTAN

Now let me proceed to the next point—Pakistan. We

have heard many arguments but what do we find in the latest pronouncement of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru who always thinks in terms of internationalism? What does he say? He does not repeat the wretched arguments that his colleagues and most of the other Hindu leaders have been repeating *ad nauseam*. He does not think in terms of India. For him India does not exist. Let me read to you an extract of his speech as reported in the press on the 2nd of this month.

"He wondered how the Muslim League talk of partitioning India and forming a separate Muslim block, when some Islamic countries, which were separate Muslim blocks, had lost their freedom. Those who talked of such partition had closed their eyes and ears to the happenings in the world and had refused to take lessons from the war. He also wondered how a Muslim block in India could stand by itself, when in the present-day world big nations could not stand alone."

All that I can say to Mr. Nehru is to let us look after ourselves and to let us see whether we can stand by ourselves. May I know from him how the whole of India can stand alone when in the present-day world big nations have not been able to stand alone?

CONTROVERSY

Now I shall deal with the controversy that is still going on with regard to the existing and the future constitution of India. The practical issue of immediate importance which is being emphasised is what is to be done immediately. With regard to this I shall briefly tell you how the matters stand to-day. On the one hand, the British Government are holding fast and tight to the August offer. The declaration of the 8th of August consists of two parts. One part is the declaration of his Majesty's policy with regard to

the future constitution of India. The other part is that of the Indianisation of the Viceroy's Executive Council in the interim period by associating the major political parties by getting them to send their representatives to the Executive Council of the Governor-General. Now, when it came to a concrete offer and you know what that offer was, the Congress definitely and clearly declared that they were not prepared to be party to any changes at the centre or in the provinces, so long as these changes were within the framework of the existing Constitution. They rejected the basic principle underlying this proposal of his Majesty's Government.

There are, however, other Hindu organisations, namely, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Liberal Federation, the Non-Party Conference, now called the Sapru Conference. All these Hindu organisations are one and the same. They masquerade under different names but patrol and reconnoitre on behalf of the Congress.

One brother, the Congress, wants sixteen annas, the other says fifteen annas will do for a start, while another says even twelve annas may tempt him, and so their game goes on. All have the same objective. If they do not succeed by a frontal attack they bank on success through a back-door policy under the guise of what they call the setting up of a national government. They are out to lay as many traps as they can for the destruction of the Pakistan scheme.

I declare that they will not succeed. Muslim India is awake and is determined.

These Hindu parties are with great zeal encouraging the idea of establishing a national cabinet, a cabinet responsible to the Crown. There seems on the face of it very little difference being a cabinet responsible to the Crown and one responsible to the legislature.

Ladies and gentlemen, this move is a sinister one. In fact it is the introduction of the thin end of the wedge for,

how long will the Viceroy be able to overrule the decision of the majority of his Cabinet supposed to be responsible to the Crown? If he does, then there will arise agitation and the cry that there is oppression of the majority or high-handedness on the part of the Viceroy will rend the sky. Propaganda will spread like wild-fire that the will of the people—and these people will be the Hindus—is being defied by the autocratic Representative of the Crown! The next step will logically be to get the cabinet responsibility shifted from the Crown to the legislature, thus securing a definite control over the whole country and thus keeping the Musalmans in a minority position. Who cannot see through this game? At the first glance, it appears to be a harmless and innocent proposition, but in reality it is subtle and all the more treacherous.

So far as the British Government are concerned, up till to-day they stand by the August proposals. Beyond this they will not go. The Congress have rejected these proposals. Our position is that we have accepted them in principle, but when it comes to putting the proposals into practice, they whittle it down to such an extent, that no decent self-respecting organisation can accept it. Our position is, and this we have declared more than once, that we must get a real share not only in the Centre but also in the Provinces.

The Congress to-day unquestionably represents the solid body of Hindu opinion in India and if this body does not accept the basic principle of the August offer, how can the next step be taken so far as they are concerned? Let them first accept this and prepare the meeting ground and then there will be room and necessity for our sitting together to devise a happy solution. We shall then say what we want and they can say what they want.

In conclusion, I say to the Muslims of Bengal to stand firm, united and consolidated under the banner of the Muslim League. Prepare yourselves, Muslims of Bengal, and

I assure you that victory will be yours. Let us declare that no amount of suppression, oppression, persecution and prosecution will frighten us, or will make us deviate from our resolve and our goal.

I take this opportunity of giving the authorities and those in power to-day fair warning that if they persist in the prosecution of the policy that they have adopted in the recent months against the Muslim League in Bengal, they will be creating a situation not only in Bengal but also in rest of India, for which there will be no parallel in history. Let them know that we are not merely talking but that we shall resist coercion. I warn them not to force the issue upon us for, if they do, they will rue the day.

Statement on Marshal Chiang Kai-shek's Message

Qaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, in a statement to the press, said :

I had the honour of meeting Marshal Chiang Kai-shek. He frankly told me that he knew nothing of political problems of India, much less the constitutional problems. In his message he, however, has advised the British Government to give real political power and freedom to India. Muslim India is not lagging behind any other community in its desire for freedom of all the people of India. But India is composed of a constellation of nations and it is not one national State, its two major nations being Hindus and Muslims. Apart from that, one-third of India is under the Indian Princes who are outside British India and are sovereign States in relation to the paramount power of Great Britain.

It is, therefore, unfortunate that the Marshal should have indulged in generalities without understanding the

political situation in India and the constitutional adjustments which are necessary. I am afraid he is saturated with the ideas of those who surrounded him most while he was in India, and it is a pity that he should have without careful study expressed his views which may be exploited to the detriment of Muslim India.

While Muslim India yields to none in its desire to achieve freedom for all the peoples of India, it cannot accept the machinations of those who speak in the name of freedom for Hindu India only and not for the Muslims. We want our Hindu brethren to be free but at the same time we do not want to be ruled by them. We also want to be free.

The problem of problems is what is the way which will secure the freedom of these two nations who inhabit this sub-continent of India. We have repeatedly made it clear from the very beginning of the outbreak of this war that it is the duty of everyone to resist the aggressor and defend India. But we cannot agree to any scheme which is sought to secure Hindu rule in place of British raj. We have also made it clear that while we are ready and willing that the Hindu India should be free and self-governing wherever they are in majority, so also the Muslim India should be free and self-governing in north-west and eastern zones of this sub-continent in which we are in overwhelming majority.

From an objective point of view, to use the words of the Marshal, we would ask the British Government to declare immediately agreeing to the Pakistan scheme and create condition in this country whereby they could justly claim the co-operation of both these great nations, without any scheme of manœuvring of a constitution which would bring Muslim India under the heels of Hindu India. The difficulty up to the present is created by the leaders of Hindu India who are manœuvring to bring Muslim India

under the heels of Hindu raj.

There is no difference on the point with regard to freedom of the peoples of India, but we desire that both the Hindu and Muslim nations should be free equally in their respective homelands and zones. Any other attempt at this juncture on the part of the British Government which will militate directly or indirectly against the Pakistan demand of Muslim India will lead to the gravest disaster in India at this critical moment.

Statement in reply to Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya

"If Mr. Rajagopalacharya gets the authority and sanction of the Congress, which he has not at present, and defines some basis, some common ground, and then finds the Muslim League taking an impossible attitude, then it may lie in his mouth to accuse us," declared Qaid-i-Azam Jinnah, in a statement.

The Qaid-i-Azam refers to the report of a speech of Mr. Rajagopalacharya published in Friday's newspapers containing references to Mr. Jinnah's recent address to the Bengal Muslim League Conference held at Serajganj. He adds that in his speech at Serajganj he quoted an extract from Mr. Rajagopalacharya's speech delivered at Tambaram and reproduced in the *Hindu* of January 22.

The extract, which I quote again, will speak for itself. According to the report, Mr. Rajagopalacharya said that there had been no settlement between the Government and the principal political organisations over whom such illustrious persons as Mahatma Gandhi and Qaid-i-Azam Jinnah presided. These were not small individuals—one had become almost as famous as the other and both of them were tremendously popular in the country. Each had a blind following, let it be so ; but it was a true following. Here were, then, two powerful popular organisations of Hindus

and Muslims, both at war with the Government and, therefore, with all the operations of the Government.

The Qaid-i-Azam continued: I think it is most unjust on the part of Mr. Rajagopalacharya to accuse me of obstructing and refusing to come to a settlement with the Congress. The Congress has not budged an inch from its original position and the demand for an immediate declaration of complete independence for India with power to the people to frame their own constitution through a constituent assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise and it has repeatedly rejected the basis of any settlement within the framework of the present constitution. It is not fair to me or to the League that in order to satisfy some questioner at a public meeting Mr. Rajagopalacharya should have made the statement as he has done.

Message to the annual session of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation, held at Rawalpindi on March 7 and 8, 1942.

I assure you that my heart is with you and that I am doing my bit for the uplift of the Musalmans and for the cause that is dear to us all. I hope that you will also continue to do the good work that you all are doing.

I have no doubt that under the presidentship of Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman and with the presence of all the other leaders that will no doubt assemble there, your annual session will be a great success.

We have to a great extent to free our people from the most undesirable reactionary elements. We have in no small degree removed the unwholesome influence and fear of a certain section who used to pass off as Maulanas and Maulvis. We have made efforts to take our women with

us in our struggle and in many places that I visited they took enormous interest and participated in various functions and gatherings. We have to carry on and maintain the policy and the programme of the All-India Muslim League on a political plane.

Within five years we have succeeded in organising Musalmans all over India as they never were at any time during the last century and a half. They have now been galvanised and awakened in a manner which has astounded and staggered our opponents. The Musalmans have shaken off torpor and shed their miserable state of despair and demoralisation into which they were sunk so deep. They are beginning to realise that they are a power. They possess the strength, the potentialities of which they have not yet realised, and if only they will take their affairs in their own hands and stand together united there is no power that can resist their will.

IMMEDIATE NEED

Apart from the political programme, the urgent and the immediate need for us is to take steps and put into effect the economic, social and educational programme which was laid down by the resolution of the All-India Muslim League at Lucknow. It is the economic and social uplift and the education of the people that constitute the true foundation of a nation or a community. I would, therefore, urge most strenuously upon leaders of various provinces and the provincial and the district Leagues that they should immediately take up various matters which will go to make a solid contribution towards the economic and social uplift of our people.

My appeal to the Musalmans once again is: Don't depend upon anybody; you must depend upon your own inherent strength. The Musalmans have not yet realised what power

and strength they possess if they were properly mobilised as one solid people. We have to go through a great deal of spade-work and suffering. Our opponents will use all possible means of suppression. They may practise tyranny and may persecute us ; but I am confident that we shall emerge out of that ordeal purer, better and stronger than we have ever been.

I will now say a word to Muslim youth: Remember that you have to take the reins of what is being done to-day in your hands to-morrow. Have you, therefore, trained yourselves, disciplined yourselves and equipped yourselves enough to shoulder the responsibilities that will fall on you? If not, go ahead and do it to-day. This is the proper time and I wish you every success.

Statement in reply to Mr. Gandhi's appeal regarding an article in the "Dawn," 11th March 1942.

My attention has been drawn to an article written by Mr. Gandhi in the issue of *Harijan* dated the 8th of March, and reproduced in the press and broadcast throughout the country the following day under the caption: "An Appeal to Qaid-i-Azam."

I would not have entered into any controversy but for an express press appeal to me by Mr. Gandhi and secondly for the fact that his article is calculated to poison the Hindu mind against the Muslim League and myself.

In the first instance Mr. Gandhi has taken out only a few sentences from the entire article on which basis he has chosen to comment. The original article, I believe, was written by a Hindu and published in the *Sunday Observer* of Madras, which is a paper edited and managed by the Non-Brahmins and is their organ in Southern India. The article

in question was a comment on Mr. Gandhi's recent convocation address at Benares regarding certain observations he made, emphasising "catholicity as the heritage of Hinduism." Of course, the language is not as precise and polished as Mr. Gandhi is capable of writing, but the reproduction of only a passage torn from its context is misleading. Any intelligent man can understand that the writer does not mean to attack the Hindu religion or Hindu faith as such, but a system and the existing construction of the Hindu society, which are allowed to pass off as having the sanction of the Hindu religion. The writer deprecates and condemns such a social order and the tyranny of the caste system, and the following passages will make that point quite clear to any intelligent man. I will, therefore, draw Mr. Gandhi's attention to other passages:

BORN UNEQUAL

"All are equal in the eyes of God of other religions, but under the squint-eyed Hinduism, men are born unequal and should live as unequals. The *panchama* or the 'untouchable' cannot aspire to heavenly bliss by himself, whatever penance he may do. If he serves the priestly class well and truly, he will get promotions to the higher class in the next birth—he will be born a *Sudra*! If he does better service to the community which God had chosen as His power-of-attorney agents on earth, he gets promoted to the *Vaishva* class, then to the *Kshatriya*, and finally to the caste which stands at the threshold of divinity."

Then the writer proceeds: "Mr. Gandhi refers to the 'catholicity' of this monstrosity. Surely the religion which treats millions and millions of people as untouchable (*Sudras*), which considers the shadow of the "low caste" man as perdition, which discourages inter-dining and inter-marriage among the four castes comprising the Hindu society, must

be described by some other adjective than 'catholic.' Even in the temples of the gods there are places assigned in the order of inferiority for the Hindu castes: and the depressed classes, on whose unfortunate head Mr. Gandhi inflicted the new name of 'Harijan,' have to stand far beyond the outer gateway. What a catholicism!"

CULTURE OF STONE

Then the writer says: "We hear such men talk of the glory of Hindu culture and grandeur of Hindu civilisation. The test of greatness is not the culture of stone and pillar and paint and pomp but the culture of humanity, the culture of equality. Caste system and untouchability are the negation of equality. They are synonyms for intolerance and injustice and only a man who is dead to all the finer instincts of humanity and civilisation can call a religion based on domination and exploitation as a heritage."

Reading the whole article, therefore, it is quite clear that the writer is condemning the social system and the usages and customs that have crept in the Hindu society, which Mr. Gandhi himself has done very often and in no unmistakable terms. Of course, I would not venture to define Hinduism in the sense of Hindu faith and religion. Mr. Gandhi is in a better position to do so. But I do maintain that the article is certainly not an attack on the Hindu faith and Hindu religion.

ANTI-DEMOCRATIC

Similarly, Dr. Ambedkar issued a statement on the 25th of February 1942 which runs as follows:

"The Congress cannot expect any sane person who knows anything about the conditions in India to agree to the government of the country being placed in the hands of

the Hindu majority, simply because it is a majority. The Congress chooses to forget that Hinduism is a political ideology of the same character as the Fascist or Nazi ideology and is thoroughly anti-democratic. If Hinduism is let loose —which is what Hindu majority means—it will prove a menace to the growth of others who are outside Hinduism and are opposed to Hinduism. This is not the point of view of Muslims alone. It is also the point of view of the depressed classes and also of the Non-Brahmins."

This statement was printed and broadcast through all the Hindu and British-edited papers. But none of them has been taken to task by Mr. Gandhi yet, as far as I know.

REMOTE

Mr. Gandhi having reproduced only certain passages, which he considered material, out of the entire context of the article reproduced by the *Dawn*, has used it to have a fling at Pakistan and makes an unwarranted attack. He says: '*What will be the state of Hindus under Pakistan? Will they be suppressed as barbarians?*' How remote are these questions from the incident of the *Dawn* having reproduced this article! Yet my answer to Mr. Gandhi is, and I have repeatedly said it in my public utterances, that in Pakistan the Hindus and other communities following different faiths and belonging to different creeds will be treated, in the first instance, on the basis of equality of mankind. Islam enjoins us to treat our fellow men as equals. The Hindus and other communities in Pakistan will be treated with justice and fairplay—nay, with generosity. That is the view of every responsible Musalman and, what is more, it is so enjoined upon us by the highest authority—the Quran and the Prophet.

VILIFICATION

For Mr. Gandhi, the professed champion of truth and liberty of speech, to pick up this incident and to imagine, as he does, to quote his own words, that ' the policy adopted in this paper must lead to the promotion of bitterness and strife between the two communities,' is really killing a fly with a wheel. I would like Mr. Gandhi to study more carefully the Hindu papers and the organised Hindu press which misrepresent and vilify not only me but the Muslim League and the Musalmans daily.

I am thankful to Mr. Gandhi for having admitted in the end of his article that in my speeches I have often repeated that we have no quarrel with the Hindus as a community and that we want to live at peace with them. Our quarrel is with the leadership and the policy and programme which is being preached by the Hindu leaders. I join him in pleading, therefore, for a "juster estimate of men and things."

Appeal for Funds, 21st March 1942

You know the world is in a great turmoil. The conflagration of the war, which started in Europe, has enveloped the two hemispheres and its flames have now reached the gates and borders of India. The face of the world is being changed rapidly and like every nation we must be prepared to meet the grave dangers threatening our very existence. We must, therefore, be fully prepared to deal with all exigencies and critical situations that may arise or develop from time to time, with courage, calmness, self-reliance and fortitude.

The renaissance of Indian Muslims began about five years ago under the banner of the All-India Muslim League; and Muslim India, thank God, is no longer in a paralytic state

and has, at last, roused itself from the deadly slumber and shaken off the lethargy of decades. In this short period we have, I am glad to say, made big strides, but you must realise that we are still far away from being efficiently and fully organised to be able to reach our destination. We have yet to achieve and accomplish our goal of Pakistan.

So far we have not raised any general funds and have managed somehow or other with the meagre means at our disposal. This is the first time that I am making an appeal seriously and solemnly for funds, as I feel that the time has come when it is no longer possible to carry on the administration at home and propaganda abroad of this growing and powerful organisation that we have built up with hardly any money.

I, therefore, most earnestly appeal to every Musalman, rich or poor, to contribute his or her mite to the fund of the All-India Muslim League, so that we may all the more effectively carry out the aims and objects and policy and programme of the Muslim League which may enable us to fulfil our sacred mission of safeguarding the interests of Muslim India and establishing Pakistan in our homelands in the North-West and Eastern zones of India.

I have thought very carefully over the different ways of collecting funds and after due consideration, I have come to the conclusion that the best course for those who wish to help us is to send their contributions direct to me for the purpose mentioned above.

I cannot impress too strongly upon the Musalmans of India that the present is the most critical time in our history and if we are not well-equipped, vigilant or active, there might be a setback for us from which we may never recover. I am confident that my appeal will not fail.

Islam expects every Musalman to do his duty by his people and by his nation.

Speech on Pakistan Day, 23rd March 1942

[Pakistan Day was celebrated all over India on 23rd March. In Delhi a mile-long procession was taken out in the afternoon and at 9-30 p.m. in the evening a mammoth public meeting with an attendance of no less than 50,000 was held at Urdu Park in observance of the Pakistan Day, Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan presiding. The proceedings opened with a recitation from the Holy Quran.]

Addressing the meeting Qaid-i-Azam Jinnah said, I can say without fear of contradiction that the Muslim League stands more firmly for the freedom and independence of this country than any other party. We are asking for justice and fairplay. We have no designs upon our sister communities. We want to live in this land as a free and independent nation. We are not a minority but a nation.

Referring to the mission of Sir Stafford Cripps in India, he advised the Musalmans to keep patience till the proposal of his Majesty's Government was put forward before them. He assured his audience that if the proposal or scheme was detrimental to Muslim interests, we shall not only not accept it but resist it to the utmost of our capacity ; if we have to die in the attempt we shall die fighting. He warned the Government against any attempt to suppress the Muslim League or create disruption among their ranks.

Continuing the Qaid-i-Azam said: It is a libel and calumny to say that we want to support British imperialism. Those who say so know it that it is untrue. I have never accepted the idea in the whole of my life that we should be under any foreign domination in this country.

At the outset, Qaid-i-Azam Jinnah expressed satisfaction on the presentation of a purse containing Rs. 4,000 to him by some hide merchants in response to his appeal for funds.

Referring to the visit of Sir Stafford Cripps, the Qaid-i-Azam said: There is the fear that he is a friend of the Congress. He has enjoyed the hospitality of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at Anand Bhawan. That is all true but we should

not be afraid on that score. Don't get cold feet. He made it clear that Sir Stafford Cripps had come to India not in his personal capacity but as representative of the British Government. He, therefore, advised the Musalmans to keep patience till the proposal, the offer or the scheme of his Majesty's Government which Sir Stafford had brought with him, was put forward before them. He assured his audience that if this scheme or proposal was detrimental to Muslim interests they would never accept it. He warned the Government against an attempt to suppress the Muslim League or create disruption among their ranks.

RIGHTEOUS CAUSE

Continuing, Qaid-i-Azam Jinnah quoted from Sir Stafford Cripps's statement before the presss conference wherein he had emphasised the necessity of meeting the deep anxieties which exist among the Muslims and other communities and remarked : I want to make it clear that we have nothing to fear. We know that our cause is a righteous one. We are asking for justice and fairplay. We have no designs upon our sister communities. We want to live in this land as a free and independent nation. We are not a minority, but a nation. We do not want to embarrass the British Government because we know the real situation. But we are not going to give help as camp-followers to the Government. We do not want that after they have won the war, they should sit on our chest. We have not accepted that position and we will not accept that.

The Qaid-i-Azam said : I can say without fear of contradiction that the Muslim League stands more firmly for the freedom and independence of this country than any other community. Reverting to Sir Stafford Cripps's mission, he said : We must wait and reserve our judgment until we know what conclusion Sir Stafford Cripps reaches,

and what constitutes the just and final proposals of the British Government.

SOLUTION

We are prepared to face all consequences if any scheme or solution which is detrimental to the interests of Muslims is forced upon us. We shall not only not accept it but resist it to the utmost of our capacity. If we have to die in the attempt we shall die fighting. (Cheers). If any other machinations and intrigues are resorted to, whether by the Hindu leadership or by the British leadership, singly or in combination, we shall resist it till we are all dead.

There is an attempt made to disrupt the Muslim League by Muslim agents of the Congress and Muslim agents of the British. These are the creatures who are in the Congress and supporting British imperialism. Somehow or other they get publicity in the Hindu press. I cannot accept a Muslim who is in the camp of the enemy and who is stabbing us from there.

It is a futile attempt, even farcical, to create differences and disruption among the Muslims and the Muslim League. You have shown to the world that the Muslim League is the only authoritative organisation of the Muslims.

Presidential Address at the Allahabad Session of the All-India Muslim League, April 4, 1942.

The following is the full text of the presidential address of Qaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah at the second day's sitting of the 29th annual session of the All-India Muslim League, held at Jinnah Chaman, Allahabad, on Saturday, April 4:

Ladies and Gentlemen : I thank you very sincerely for the great reception that you gave me at the station. I am proud to see that every month, every year, the Muslim League is going forward by leaps and bounds. I also think the All-India Muslim League that they have honoured me by electing me as president for this year. I congratulate all the workers and office-bearers who have toiled and worked from day to day for the last three months in making all these preparations that we see here. Let me tell you that as we are growing in our strength we are growing in our power of organising and managing our affairs better and better every day.

Now I wish to tell you and want to pick up the thread since we met at Madras last year in our annual session. At Madras we defined our policy, we defined our ideology, we defined our programme, and I appeal to everyone of you kindly to read that speech of mine again and study it—not only study it but I appeal to everyone of you that you should make some beginning in one direction or other with regard to the programme and the policy that we have laid down. I do not want to go on repeating things. There was a time when it was necessary to repeat things to make our people and those who opposed us understand us. The propaganda of the League and the literature and the meetings and conferences that are being held throughout India, our press and even our opponents' press have enlightened us now as to what the real issues are before us. (Hear, hear).

Now let us talk less and work more. Not only that ; but the grave international situation and the war that is now on our very borders and almost at our gates—that must force us to realise how grave the danger is in front of us and we do not know what is going to happen. But, ladies and gentlemen, I must earnestly appeal to you. Musalmans, organise yourselves to *meet all eventualities* whatever may

happen. (Hear, hear). These are obvious truths that I am telling you and I really don't think that now I should go on labouring the point because, in my judgment, to pick up the analogy, you are no longer infants but you have reached the age of discretion, and can act accordingly. On that point I shall say no more.

CRIPPS MISSION

I know that the uppermost subject which is to-day not only engaging the attention of all India but is also engaging the attention of the whole world, is the mission of Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of his Majesty's Government. You have been following it from day to day. Now I want to tell you as far as it is possible for me, and explain to you as shortly as I can this draft declaration of proposals. Mark the words that it is a *draft* declaration. These are *proposals* which have emanated from his Majesty's Government, and they have come to the conclusion that they are 'just and final.' Let us examine them and let us understand them. I am not going into details; I am going to pick up the main points.

The main points that emerge from this document are, first, the object is the creation of a new Indian Union which shall constitute a dominion associated with the United Kingdom and other dominions by common allegiance to the Crown but equal to them in every respect and in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic or external affairs. Here there may be some doubts as to the functions and the powers. There are three things—first status, then comes power and finally functions. But that is a matter which will have to be considered when we come to the signing of a treaty or treaties with one dominion or two dominions or more.

The next point that emerges is this. Immediately upon

the cessation of hostilities steps shall be taken to set up in India in the manner described hereafter an elected body charged with the task of framing a new constitution for India. So we shall have an elected body charged with the task of framing a new constitution. I shall deal with it when I come to the clause which lays down how that constitution-making body will be set up and how it will be composed.

Third, there is a provision for the fortification of the Indian States.

Fourth, his Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the constitution so framed. But subject to this there are exceptions.

EXCEPTIONS

The first exception is the right of any British Indian province that is not prepared to accept the new constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decides. That is to say, the constitution-making body when it completes the framing of the constitution and when that constitution, so framed, emerges from the deliberations of the constitution-making body which will be, remember, a *sovereign* body, then it would be open for any province or provinces to say, 'we are not in agreement with this constitution, and, therefore, we are not prepared to accede to this constitution.' But the most vital point and the most important of all the points, so far as we are concerned particularly, is as to how that province or provinces will express their will and exercise their right. But that is not in the document. But a suggestion has been thrown out by Sir Stafford Cripps and the suggestion is that if a province, in the Legislative Assembly of the province, is in favour of accession by sixty per cent votes, then it will be an end of it. It means that

the province is bound to accede. But if they get fifty-nine per cent votes and the minority happens to be forty-one per cent then there will be a plebiscite of the people of the province. Then of course, the non-acceding provinces can, among themselves, by the same process, form another Union or a dominion or any single province may stand by itself as a dominion. That is the corollary.

Then comes the provision for treaty—the treaty or treaties which will have to be signed and made with the dominion or dominions that may be set up as well as with the Indian States acceding or not acceding.

CONSTITUTION-MAKING

I told you that I would refer to the actual clauses of the proposals and how the constitution-making body will be set up or formed, and the provision is this. Immediately upon the end of hostilities the constitution-making body shall be composed as follows, unless leaders of the principal communities agree to some other machinery before the end of the hostilities. So at the end of the hostilities the constitution-making body will be composed by this method: "Immediately upon the results being known of the provincial elections which would be necessary at the end of the hostilities, the entire membership of the lower Houses of all provincial legislatures shall as a single electoral college proceed to elect the constitution-making body by the system of proportional representation. This new body shall be in number about one-tenth of the number of the electoral college." Therefore, I think, you understand that all the members of the Assemblies of eleven provinces will meet together as one single electoral college and they will be roughly sixteen hundred members and they will be entitled to elect one-tenth, which means, in all, one hundred and sixty members by means of proportional representation.

That is the constitution-making body.

After that we come to the Indian States who will be invited to send their representatives and the number will be according to their population. But how they will be chosen it is not mentioned at all in this document—whether by nomination or some method of election. Now, gentlemen, this is the document so far as the future is concerned.

THE PRESENT

But then there is a provision for the present also and that provision is this. While during the critical period which now faces India and until the new constitution can be framed, his Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the full responsibility for the defence of India; they desire and invite the effective and immediate participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the commonwealth and of the united nations. Thus they will be enabled to give their active and constructive help in the discharge of a task which is vital and essential for the future freedom of India. The important words, ladies and gentlemen, are that the responsibility for the defence of India will be that of his Majesty's Government and the leaders of the principal sections of Indian people will be invited in the counsels of their country.

This was the original wording but later on it was modified in this way: "During the critical period which now faces India and until the new constitution might be framed, his Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain the control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world war effort." But this is change in the wording.

The task of organising to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the

Government of India with the co-operation of the people of India. Then they say that his Majesty's Government desire "to invite the effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections in the counsels of their country."

ONE UNION

Now, ladies and gentlemen, that is the document and let me put it in a few words what it means and how I understand it. It means, whatever may be the constitutional implications of the status and the powers of the dominion or the dominions that may be set up, the main objective is the creation of a new Indian Union. We start with that. For that purpose a constitution-making body will be set up which will be the sovereign body. "A sovereign body will start—to use the language of Sir Stafford Cripps—with a preference for an All-India Union.

Think what will be the composition of that body. The composition of that body would be that first of all it will be elected from amongst the members of the eleven Assemblies meeting together as one college and by means of proportional representation, not separate electorates. When that body is formed I cannot conceive how they can come to any other conclusion except the Union: and that is why it is so composed.

But after the constitution-making body has framed its constitution by a bare majority, it is true that any single province or provinces who do not approve of that constitution are given a chance to go through another test which I shall explain hereafter. But remember that, at the most, Musalmans even by separate electorates will not be more than 25 per cent; but by the system of proportional representation they might be less in number in the constitution-making body. So the overwhelming majority will be non-Muslim and, therefore, the probabilities are contemplat-

ed that the constitution may by a majority be in favour of only one Union.

The other point which is not there is : Will the decision of this constitution-making body be taken by a bare majority or not ? Reading that document, as I do, clearly it cannot be anything else, because it is the accepted rule of every document that when we want to lay down a specific majority we state so. If you do state not so, then it means the rule of a bare majority. For instance, in our own constitution we have the clause that our constitution cannot be changed except by a majority of two-thirds. So that is the constitution-making body. If I may make a comment on this a little, Mr. Gandhi will come to this constitution-making body with a dead certainty of getting a constitution which will emerge for an All-India Union.

CONSOLATION

Now when that is done, the province or provinces who would feel unhappy are given the consolation—'no, no, you have yet another chance before you are killed.' (Laughter.) And what is that chance ? The chance is this—and it is not in the document but a suggestion of Sir Stafford Cripps—of course, various suggestions have been made ; we shall also make our suggestions when the time comes ; but at present he has made a suggestion. He says, 'look here, if forty-one per cent are against it then a plebiscite.' Whose plebiscite ? Of course, the plebiscite of the province.

Whose self-determination do you want to ascertain ? Self-determination of the two nations put together or one nation alone ? (Hear, hear). The answer is, of course, of both together.

That is another chance, and if you get the plebiscite in your favour then, at least, you will escape the slaughter-house before our *qurbani* is made. (Laughter). This is the point

of a most vital character so far as Muslim India is concerned.

DISAPPOINTMENT

Then with regard to the present, gentlemen, I can tell you nothing except what is contained in this document, because it entirely depends on as to what will be the final picture and I cannot throw any light on it. I have explained to you, and I hope correctly, and if I am not correct I shall certainly stand corrected by Sir Stafford Cripps or anybody else. After explaining the draft declaration of the proposals I think I am echoing your feelings when I say that the Musalmans feel deeply disappointed that the entity and integrity of the Muslim nation has not been expressly recognised. (Hear, hear).

Any attempt to solve the problem of India by the process of evading the real issues and by over-emphasising the territorial entity of the provinces which are mere accidents of British policy and administrative divisions is fundamentally wrong. (Hear, hear.) Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the right of national self-determination is unequivocally recognised. (Hear, hear).

It must be realised that India was never a country or a nation. India's problem is international in this sub-continent and differences cultural, social, political and economic are so fundamental that they cannot be covered up, concealed or confused but must be handled by all as realists.

The alleged power of the minority in the matter of secession suggested in the document is illusory, as Hindu India will dominate the decision in favour of one All-India Union in all the provinces and the Muslims in Bengal and the Punjab will be at the mercy of the Hindu minority in those provinces who will exert themselves to the fullest extent and length for keeping the Musalmans tied to the chariot wheel of Hindudom. Thus the Musalmans will be

doomed to subjection in all the provinces. (Hear, hear).

We cannot barter away with our consent the future for the present while fully realising the danger of foreign aggression and notwithstanding all our anxieties to defend India and to help the prosecution of war. To do so will be a crime on our part to posterity and generations of hundreds of millions of Muslims to come. (Hear, hear).

SKELETON

As regards the proposals relating to the immediate adjustments in the central and provincial governments which we are told must be considered within the framework of the existing constitution, it is difficult to gather from the document anything definite and concrete for it must necessarily depend upon the full picture when it is disclosed and it is not known to us, nor is it before us yet. The document is a bare skeleton of the proposals and obviously requires a lot of filling in and adjusting before it can be made acceptable and it is one of those cases where the details will become more vital than the bare statement of certain principles.

It has roused our deepest anxieties and grave apprehensions specially with reference to the Pakistan scheme which is a matter of life and death for Muslim India. (Hear, hear). We will, therefore, endeavour that the principle of Pakistan which finds only veiled recognition in the document, should be conceded in unequivocal terms and until we know how the right of Musalmans to keep out or accede thereto is defined to our satisfaction, we do not wish to see that the history of Palestine should be repeated as it was after the last war (hear, hear) after we have paid for the promises in blood, money and material.

AGAINST US

The document shows that Pakistan is treated as a remote possibility and there is a definite preference for a new Indian Union which is the main objective and suggestion and the rules of procedure and the process indicated in the document and the interviews and explanations of Sir Stafford Cripps so far are against us and we are called upon to play the game with loaded dice.

Our Working Committee is engaged, as you know, since the 27th of March in the task of most careful and searching examination of these proposals. I trust that in order to give real effect to the principles of Pakistan and Muslim self-determination his Majesty's Government and Sir Stafford Cripps will not hesitate to make the necessary adjustments on their behalf. Let us hope that there will emerge out of these negotiations a settlement that will be just, honourable and finally acceptable to all. (Loud applause).

Statement on Cripps Proposals at a Press Conference on April 13, 1942.

The Congress claim of representing the whole of India was effectively repudiated and totally exposed by Qaid-i-Azam Jinnah at a press conference.

Explaining why the Muslim League had to reject his Majesty's Government's proposals, brought by Sir Stafford Cripps, Qaid-i-Azam Jinnah said: " The proposals of his Majesty's Government were in their fundamentals not subject to modification. I was told that they should be accepted *in toto* but not in parts. His Majesty's Government had not authorised Sir Stafford Cripps to consider any alternative either for the present or the future. Regarding the

immediate present, it was not open to us to suggest any alternative as we had to accept the proposals as a whole or not at all. We could not, therefore, discard the future and deal with the present. In effect, Pakistan was not conceded unequivocally and the right of Muslim self-determination was denied. We, therefore, did not accept the proposals regarding the future."

Referring to the recent statement of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru he said: I find that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in talking to press correspondents still speaks of the Congress as representing India and speaking on behalf of India. There is no foundation for that assertion. Muslim India has repudiated that claim. We maintain that the Congress does not represent not only the Musalmans of India but even a large body of the Hindus, the Depressed Classes, the Non-Brahmins and other minorities.

Referring to the Cripps proposals Qaid-i-Azam Jinnah said: The proposals of his Majesty's Government were in their fundamentals not subject to modification. Therefore, after clarification by Sir Stafford Cripps, the Muslim League examined them carefully. I was told that they should be accepted *in toto* but not in parts. We could not, therefore, discard the future and deal with the present. Further, that the immediate present could only be considered if the future was agreed upon and that his Majesty's Government had not authorised Sir Stafford Cripps to consider any alternative either for the present or the future. That being the position, we examined the whole of the proposals as one document and came to the conclusion that, as regards the future, the principle of partition (Pakistan) was not conceded, but there was possibility for a province or provinces to stand out. The machinery provided for that purpose was such that we came to the conclusion that in two Muslim majority provinces the rules of procedure laid down were such that the fate of ninety million Musalmans

would be decided by a few votes in the provincial legislatures where the Muslims are, as in Bengal and the Punjab, in a minority in the legislature—these being the major Muslim provinces. Similarly, in the Muslim majority provinces, N.-W.F.P. and Sind, the weightage given to non-Muslims would make it extremely difficult for the Musalmans to realise their goal. In effect Pakistan was not conceded unequivocally and the right of Muslim self-determination was denied. We, therefore, did not accept the proposals regarding the future, although we recognised that the same may constitute the foundations of British policy as a historic document.

The recognition given to the principle of partition, however, was very much appreciated by Muslim India.

PRESENT

Regarding the immediate present, it was not open to us to suggest any alternatives, as we had to accept the proposals as a whole or not at all. Having decided on the future we thought no useful purpose would be served in discussing the present and further we thought that until the complete picture was available it was not possible for us to deal with it. Details with regard to the present were of vital importance, and in this case they were more important than the principles themselves. No discussion, however, took place between me and Sir Stafford Cripps regarding the present period, except that details would be worked out and settled by the Viceroy with the parties concerned.

I now gather from the maze of correspondence and statements that have been issued that the Congress leaders alleged that Sir Stafford Cripps was discussing with them alternative proposals of theirs, which fact has been denied by Sir Stafford Cripps. I have no knowledge of what took place between Sir Stafford and the Congress, but I may add

that if alternative proposals of the Congress were accepted —immediate freedom and independence of India, cabinet to be nominated by major parties with collective responsibility, the Viceroy to act as constitutional Governor-General and the Secretary of State and his Majesty's Government having no power to interfere—it would have meant the setting up of a cabinet, irremovable and responsible to nobody but the majority, which would be at the command of the Congress in the cabinet. If such an adjustment had been arrived at, then it would have been a 'Fascist Grand Council' and the Muslims and other minorities would have been entirely at the mercy of the Congress raj.

Then to say that the future would be considered after war is to my mind absurd, because there would be nothing left of the future to discuss, except details.

CONGRESS GAME

We stand for freedom and independence, yielding to none in that respect, but the Congress scheme will not bring freedom and independence for the Musalmans and other minorities of India who will be at the entire mercy of the caucus cabinet. Therefore, we hold that the Congress proposals are short-circuiting the paramount and vital issues in the name of national government. This has been the beginning and that is what we have been resisting.

The Congress recognised that the cabinet formed under its scheme would be a composite cabinet formed from different groups, representing various ideologies in the country, some coming from the Congress, some from the Hindu Mahasabha, the Muslim League and the Sikhs. I have noted that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru made it quite clear when he said that suppose in a cabinet of fifteen there was Congress majority of eight or nine. Added to that Congress majority would be the Hindu Mahasabha and the Sikhs, and the

Muslims would be left in a negligible, ineffective minority. The only consolation that Pandit Nehru offered was that if the Musalmans did not agree they could resign. If this is not a foregone conclusion of the tyranny of the majority, what else could it be?

I am also surprised to read Pandit Nehru's statement that I would not have objected to the Congress demand for national Government. I assert that if the Congress demand had been accepted it would have been the death-knell to the Musalmans of India.

Concluding, the Qaid-i-Azam said that the Congress carried on negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps over the head of all other parties whom it utterly ignored.

QUESTIONS

Q. Then what is the position of the League?

A. If all parties agree to the Muslim demand for Pakistan or partition and Muslim right of self-determination, details to be settled after the war, then we are prepared to come to any reasonable adjustment with regard to the present.

So far as the Pakistan demand is not agreed to, we cannot agree to any present adjustment which will in any way militate against or prejudge the Pakistan demand.

The demand of the Congress, as explained by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to the press conference and as disclosed in the correspondence with Sir Stafford Cripps, does definitely prejudge and militate against the Pakistan demand and is, therefore, unacceptable to us.

Q. Then, is it not for the leaders to meet and discuss the matter?

A. It is for the leaders to devise means of doing so.

Interview to an American Press Representative

If they had an assured goal to fight for—independent Muslim States in post-war India—and arms with which to fight, 100 million Muslims of India would resist aggression and hurl the enemy out of India with invincible strength—asserted Qaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah in an interview with Mr. W. W. Chapman, correspondent of *International News Service* of America.

Appreciating American sympathy to the principle of independence of India the Qaid-i-Azam said that true independence could come only with separate Muslim States in the North-West and Eastern zones of India where Muslims constituted the majority of the population. If Britain yielded to the Congress political blackmail and approved a national State dominated by the Hindus there would be immediate and terrible chaos.

Mr. Jinnah pledged that 100 million Muslims of India will resist Japanese aggression—men, women and children with tooth and nail He, however, predicted that such resistance would be ineffective against the armed forces of invader and coupled his pledge with the renewed plea for independent Muslim States in post-war India and for arming the Muslim men of military age. He said, if we had such an assured goal to fight for and arms with which to fight we would stand side by side with the British forces and hurl the enemy out of India with invincible strength.

A note of bitterness crept in his voice when discussing the Congress action. He said, the Congress is engaging in political blackmail, taking advantage of the fact that the terrible enemy is almost at India's door, to attempt to force the British to agree to so-called national Government in which Muslims would be outnumbered three-to-one and would be ruled by the Hindus as they were now being ruled by the British. Muslims will never agree to such an

arrangement. They insist on independence from the British, from the Japanese invaders and from the Hindus. If Britain agreed to the Congress demand and approved a national State dominated by the Hindus there would be immediate and terrible chaos.

The Qaid-i-Azam said that he appreciated fully American sympathy to the principle of the independence of India but said that true independence can only come by Pakistan with separate Muslim State or States in North-West zone and Eastern zone where Muslims are approximately 75 per cent of the population. He said that it is certainly fair; it would give Muslims one-fourth the area of India for their one-fourth of total population. It would leave the Hindus with three-fourths of area comprising the richest part of the country and would give them the most populous country in the world, except China and perhaps Russia. Were I a Hindu leader I would say, "let us get this chap Jinnah to sign his proposition quick, then we will be a tremendous Hindu country without a minority problem which otherwise prevents national unity always."

Qaid-a-Azam Jinnah charged the Congress with bad faith in putting an organisation forward as representing Muslim as well as Hindu interests. It is entirely to confuse the rest of the world to win sympathy. Maulana Azad is a puppet President who has permitted himself to be used but who has no power in the Congress which is completely Hindu in thought and action.

He believed that Britain and Hindus eventually will be forced to recognise his plan which was the only practical solution of India's problem. When this happened, he pledged that he would appoint himself champion of small minority of Hindus living in Muslim areas and would insist that the constitution should accord them full rights. If Hindus do the same to Muslim minority in their three-quarters of India, two countries should live amicably as

good neighbours like Canada and the United States, Mexico and North America which no one suggests should be forced under one government merely because people inhabit the same continent.

Hindu three-fourths of India where policy of non-co-operation and non-violence with enemy is proclaimed includes strategic ports of Madras and Bombay. Muslim populations region, where the people, he said, will fight aggression preferably with proper arms but lacking that with bare hands, includes Karachi, Chittagong and Calcutta which are nearest to Burma where Japanese are massed.

Statement on Mr. Gandhi's 'Big Move' issued from Bombay, June 1942.

" I am glad that at last Mr. Gandhi has openly declared that unity and Hindu-Muslim settlement can only come after the achievement of India's independence and has thereby thrown off the cloak that he had worn for the last 22 years. He tried in a consummate manner to fool the Muslims, but at last he has shown himself in his true colours.

I had held that Mr. Gandhi never wanted to settle the Hindu-Muslim question except on his own terms of Hindu domination. It is he and he alone who has, whenever there was a chance of agreement, by some means or other dashed our hopes. Now we are presented with a new formula and that formula is 'quit India.' But after having said that the British should withdraw, he adds—he always keeps a loophole—"in an orderly manner "!

Since his first pronouncement he has been engaged in making explanation after explanation. It is quite clear to those who understand Mr. Gandhi's language that he wants the British Government to accept that Congress

means India and Gandhi means the Congress and come to terms with him as the spokesman of all India with regard to the transfer of power of the Government to the self-styled Indian National Congress and keep him in power and authority by means of the British bayonet, so that the Hindu Congress raj can dominate over Muslims and other minorities.

He does not mean to achieve India's Independence. He and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru are both indulging in slogans and catchwords. If they can persuade the British Government to withdraw immediately even without Mr. Gandhi's qualification of 'orderly withdrawal' the Muslim League would welcome it. It is a libel to say that the Muslim League is in favour of continuation of British raj in this country.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has made it quite clear that he is not prepared to discuss the issue of Pakistan, nor is he prepared to discuss the communal question in any shape or form 'until India's independence is achieved and foreign authority eliminated'. But he says 'so far as I am concerned I believe that Congress would willingly meet Mr. Jinnah if that serves the cause we have at heart.' But he is not prepared to consider the cause that we have at heart and he says, 'but it would be very much to the point if he discussed the means of achieving independence for India or, to put it differently, the means of eliminating foreign authority from India first' and then other questions will be considered.

It is no use talking in abstract terms of wanting to achieve India's independence When you don't mean it it is no use using catchwords like 'freedom for India', 'Independence', 'National Government', etc. The independence and freedom of all the peoples of this sub-continent should be thought of not only in the negative terms of elimination of foreign authority of rule resulting in anarchy and chaos,

as Mr. Gandhi promises, but in a definite and positive form of a constitution and the setting up of a government to which the power and authority of the British can be transferred, and that could take the place of foreign authority which Mr. Gandhi wants to end today. Such a government would command the confidence and allegiance of the different nationalities and interests that exist in this vast sub-continent.

So long as this present deception and false propaganda is maintained by the Congress, India's progress will continue in jeopardy. I am told that there is going to be a 'big move'. This threat is intended to coerce a distressed and shaken Britain to accede to Mr. Gandhi's demand. I can only say, that Britain will be making the greatest blunder if she surrenders to the Congress in any manner which would be detrimental to the interests of Muslim India.

We do not know what this 'big move' is going to be. Nothing is going to move us from the set purpose of achieving our goal of Pakistan. When the time comes the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League will decide how to face the new situation if it arises, and I will call a meeting of the Working Committee as soon as occasion arises.

Interview to American Press Representative at Bombay, July 1, 1942.

" The only way for Britain to do justice is to hand over the Muslim homelands to the Musalmans and the Hindu homelands to Hindus. It is practicable proposition and will cause the least amount of trouble and friction. Sooner the British give their decision in this regard the better it is for all the parties. The Pakistan scheme of

BITTER EXPERIENCE

We have had enough experience of the provincial constitution for 27 months when the Congress Hindu majority under the constitution of 1935 enjoyed certain legislative, executive and administrative powers, although these provinces were certainly not fully self-governing, as the last and final word rested with the Governor, the Governor-General, the Secretary of State and Parliament and many safeguards were provided for the minorities, and Britain accepted their statutory obligations to protect the rights and interests of the minorities.

Notwithstanding this, the Hindu Congress in six provinces during these 27 months made every effort to suppress the language, customs and culture of the Musalmans. Even in educational institutions, which were wholly Muslim, the students were compelled to use text books prescribed by the Hindu Congress Government emphasising the Hindu culture and traditions and belittling that of the Musalmans, what little of the Muslim culture they contained. Hundreds of instances can be given of their having trampled upon the elementary rights of Musalmans.

The difference between the Hindus and the Muslims is deeprooted and ineradicable. We are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilisation, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions, in short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons

READINESS TO HELP

I stated, the Qaid-i-Azam said, from the very commencement of India being declared a belligerent that in our own interest and to defend our homes and hearths we should assist England in the prosecution of war, provided Great Britain accepted our hand as confident friend and as equal partner to face the peril, and provided real share in the authority of the Government at the Centre and Provinces was given to us within the framework of the present constitution. But England, so far, has not accepted our hand and is waiting to persuade the Hindu Congress.

The first proposal was made by the Viceroy in November 1939, which was later improved upon by what is known as the declaration of August, 1940, and lastly Cripps proposals in April, 1943. England is pining away to satisfy the Hindu Congress but the Hindu Congress demands full twenty shillings in a pound immediately, at the cost of 100 millions of Musalmans and other minorities which will well-nigh come to another hundred millions. What they want is, as I have said, hegemony, supremacy and Hindu domination over all, and that they want to establish with the help and presumably with the ultimate sanction of British bayonets.

England dare not sacrifice and let down the Musalmans of India. But at the same time England is marking time and waiting and considering how to satisfy Hindu India. Hindu India, on the other hand, is in a position of being encouraged and its hopes are maintained by constant approach to them with something better every time with the result that they have decided upon a policy of non-co-operation and are holding the sword of Damocles or resorting to civil disobedience, and thus they think they are in a better position at the bargaining counter.

NO OBSTRUCTION

We have, so far, beyond strongly condemning the policy of the British Government and their blunders in pampering the Congress, not considered it advisable to put obstacles in the prosecution of war or obstruct in any way their progress in that direction, unlike the Congress policy and programme. But if the British, even with the help of America, adopt any measures which militate in any way against our Pakistan demand I am firmly of opinion that it will lead to terrible chaos and disaster, as one hundred millions of Musalmans of India will never forgive the British if they are let down.

The Congress demand is one which cannot be satisfied within the frame-work of the present constitution. It can only be achieved by immediately making fundamental revolutionary changes in the present constitution in order to set up what the Congress conceive to be the 'national Government' of a united and democratic India. We are not against any revolutionary changes in the constitution or complete repeal of it in order to secure our Pakistan scheme; but if the national Government of Congress conception is set up then it automatically not only torpedoes the Pakistan scheme but the question of any kind of partition of India cannot arise thereafter. Therefore, the only just course for Britain is to decide in favour of the principle of Pakistan and proceed to frame the constitution accordingly.

Statement to the Press on Mr. Gandhi's article, 'To Muslim Correspondents' in Harijan, July 1942.

In his article in the *Harijan*, dated July 12, Mr. Gandhi has spread his latest bait that he is open to conviction. He says, "Have Pakistanists attempted to convert oppositionists in a friendly way ?", although at the same time he is rattling the sword of launching a big movement—I suppose a mass civil disobedience, asking the British Government to "quit India" and in the same breath agreeing to let British troops remain in India to defend her. Now let us examine the facts in the light of Mr. Gandhi's writings and those of the Congress.

Even the remote and veiled recognition of Pakistan in the draft declaration of his Majesty's Government brought to India by Sir Stafford Cripps was characterised by Mr. Gandhi as 'wicked,' and he for one had nothing whatever to do with it. He became more emphatic in the *Harijan* when Mr. Rajagopalacharya was inclined to rely upon his previous articles saying that the Madras leader had misunderstood him and unequivocally declared that Pakistan in his opinion was not only a crime but much worse and amounted to a sin, thus damning anyone who ventured to think in terms of Pakistan not only in this world but also in the next.

The All-India Congress Committee at Allahabad not only rejected the proposal of Mr. Rajagopalacharya favouring Pakistan, but on the contrary passed a resolution moved by Mr. Jagatnarain Lal, completely turning down any idea of Pakistan and declared itself definitely and emphatically for 'Akhand' Hindustan. What difference remains between the Hindu Mahasabha and the Congress ? The Hindu Mahasabha has been openly saying for a considerable time now —"achievement of India's freedom anb independence first and communal settlement afterwards," on the basis that

Musalmans are a minority amongst other minorities in India and on the fundamental principle of the establishment of 'Akhand' Hindustan and Hindudom. Mr. Gandhi is also revolving on the same pivot. Recently Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru made it quite clear that he was not prepared even to discuss the Pakistan scheme and called it a 'mockery.'

MR. RAJAGOPALACHARYA'S SIN

Mr. Rajagopalacharya has committed not only a crime but a sin in favouring the idea of partition, for as a result of his trying to persuade Mr. Gandhi and the Congressmen, in a friendly way, he has been virtually expelled from the organisation. Is Mr. Gandhi really sincere in the light of the above facts that he is open to conviction, or is it merely one of his new techniques to mislead people?

In the issue of the *Harijan*, dated July 12, I see that side by side with this article, another one has also appeared in which, while dealing with the Andhra separation, Mr. Gandhi says: "The Andhras do not claim to be a separate nation having nothing in common with the rest of India. Pakistan on the other hand is a demand for carving out of India a portion to be wholly treated as an independent and sovereign State," and yet in the article under discussion he says: "Only the protagonists know what they want and mean. I plead for such an exposition. Nobody has told me all its implications." Surely Mr. Gandhi does not need a better exposition than his own. He has himself put the Muslim demand in a nutshell.

From the lines of his writings and the way in which his mind is working it seems that no mere mortal can ever succeed in convincing Mr. Gandhi of the rightness of the Muslim demand, except perhaps the 'inner voice' of Providence!

The picture that he draws of the result of his movement,

his one aim and object being to displace British power from India, means, on his own showing, that there will ensue a rule of the jungle. But he knows that he does not mean that. It is merely a ruse to coerce and embarrass the British Government to surrender to the establishment of the Hindu raj in this sub-continent.

I cannot imagine how any Indian can visualise with equanimity the lurid picture which he depicts. And here it is in his own words: "Thus assuming that the British leave, there is no government and no constitution, British or other. Heretofore there is no Central Government. Militarily, the most powerful party may set up its rule and impose it on India if the people submit. Muslims may declare Pakistan and nobody may resist them. Hindus may do likewise."

I suppose he means to set up Hindudom. He proceeds: "Sikhs may set up their rule in territories inhabited by them. There is no end to the possibilities." Surely this is a manifestation of an angered and a desperate mentality. Is this the best contribution that Mr. Gandhi can make to India in the evening of his life?

INDEPENDENT INDIA

Then comes the end of the article when naively he says: "Why should not the Muslims who believe in 'Independent India' join such a struggle? If, on the other hand, they believe in Pakistan through the British ægis, it is a different story. I have no place for it." Mr. Gandhi's conception of "Independent India" is basically different from ours. What we want is the independence of Hindus and Muslims and others. Mr. Gandhi by independence means Congress raj. We do not believe in Pakistan through the British aid or under the British ægis. Pakistan is an article of faith with Muslim India, and we depend upon nobody except

ourselves for the achievement of our goal and Muslim India is ready and willing to face opposition and obstacles from whatever quarter they may come.

I ask Mr. Gandhi to give up the game of fooling the Musalmans by insinuating that we depend upon the British for the achievement of our goal of Pakistan. I ask him to drop what he calls "the few Muslim friends," that are still left. Hands off the Muslims, and as one of the foremost leaders of Hindu India and as a realist I ask him to show his sincerity and frankness for an honourable settlement. Mr. Gandhi will have then rendered a great service not only to the two great communities—his own and mine—but also to the millions of the other minorities and interests in this country that are involved.

Speech at Bombay in reply to Address of Memon Merchants, 22nd July 1942.

Satisfaction at the response shown by the Muslims of India to his appeal for the Muslim League National Fund was expressed by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, replying to the joint address and a purse of Rs. 17,500 presented to him by the Memon Chamber of Commerce and Memon Merchants Association, at a reception at Kesar Bagh, Dongri, Bombay, on Wednesday the 22nd July 1942. A sum of Rs. 1,107 contributed by the Muslims of Malegaon was also presented to Mr. Jinnah at the function.

The address assured Mr. Jinnah that whenever and in whatever form a call for sacrifice for achieving their cherished goal of Pakistan came, the Memon community would never be found wanting.

After expressing his gratefulness for the presentation of the purse Mr. Jinnah said that though during the last five

years Muslim India had progressed very far and political consciousness among them had been roused, yet there were still people among them who had not yet understood the grimness of the struggle that was being carried on.

APPEAL TO RICH

Mr. Jinnah made an appeal to those who were rich to rise from their slumber. He struck a note of caution to them that they should not think that because they led a comfortable life it mattered little what they did or did not do. They would suffer more. It was their property that was in danger. They should realise that the value of money was changing and they should not look to their bank accounts.

It was only after five years that they had appealed to the Muslim public for funds and after having proved what an organised effort could do. Since the appeal was made in March last, Mr. Jinnah pointed out that Rs. 3,00,000 had been collected from all over India. When the amount of Rs. 10,00,000 appealed for had been collected, Mr. Jinnah said, they would enter into the next phase of their activity.

Statement to Foreign Press issued from Bombay, July 31, 1942.

The decision of the Congress Working Committee to launch a mass movement if the British do not immediately withdraw from India is the culminating point in the policy and programme of Mr. Gandhi and his Hindu Congress of blackmailing the British and coercing them to concede a system of government and transfer power to that government which would establish a Hindu raj immediately under

the ægis of the British bayonet, thereby placing the Muslims and other minorities and interests at the mercy of the Congress raj.

Mr. Gandhi in order to cajole the British in his first interview with the Viceroy in September 1939, offered unconditional help in the prosecution of the war and almost broke down when he said, ' What is India's freedom worth if England is broken.' When he imagined the bombing of Westminster Abbey and the Houses of the Parliament he shed crocodile tears. Thereafter he became a Dr. Jekyl and Mr. Hyde in the Congress hierarchy and took shelter under cover that the Working Committee had overruled him. He put forward the fantastic proposals in total disregard of the interests of not only the Muslims but the various minorities in the country and the Indian States. He asked for an immediate declaration of the independence and freedom of India with the right of the people to frame their own constitution by a constituent assembly chosen by means of adult franchise, which meant 75 per cent of the Hindu majority. He kept on writing that he was a friend of the British people and that there were unbreakable ties between the British people and himself!

When he failed as a professed friend and adviser to the British he became a coercer. He called upon the members of the Central Assembly to absent themselves from the legislature and in November, 1939, he asked the Congress ministries in seven major Hindu provinces to resign, thereby making the working of the constitution impossible although he and the Congress had agreed to work the constitution under what he called a gentlemen's agreement under the ægis of the British Crown.

NEW SCHEME

This threat and intimidation and obstructive attitude

did not cut much ice with the British Government. Then he hit upon another method based upon the same lines of coercion while professing and declaring that he had no desire to embarrass the British Government in the prosecution of the war and that he did not wish to start a mass civil disobedience movement as long as the Muslim League was opposed to it. But under the guise of a slogan—freedom of speech—he resorted to individual satyagraha after the August declaration of 1940. He sat at the Sevagram Ashram planning and organising the campaign of what he called individual civil disobedience under the protection of the British Government and with full freedom and complete immunity from any law operating against him. He sent hundreds, nay thousands, of Congressmen to preach slogans which were intended and calculated to hinder the war effort. They were arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, and after 14 months of this farce when it was about to peter out, he suddenly discovered and the Congress organisation discovered that he had pursued that line of programme under mistaken authority.

Shortly after this arrived Sir Stafford Cripps, and during this time it was the policy of the British Government that clearly encouraged Mr. Gandhi, as all the time the eye of the British Government was centred on the Congress in an effort to humour and placate them. This was done even at the cost of Muslims and other minorities' interests. After the Cripps proposals were disclosed the Congress and specially Mr. Gandhi could not bear the remotest idea of separation indicated in them, as they had fully expected that the draft declaration would not only rule out any discussion on Pakistan scheme but definitely and clearly denounce it. This is clearly proved by the Allahabad Congress resolution and the subsequent writings of Mr. Gandhi, who considers an indivisible India as an article of faith and talk of any scheme of separation a sin.

One more proof is that one of the foremost leaders of the Congress who favoured the idea of separation (Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya) was expelled from the Congress organisation and several others have also resigned. Hence in his bitterness and deep disappointment Mr. Gandhi has now resorted to his new big move.

MUSLIM RESOLVE

It is quite obvious that the British Government dare not, for two reasons, surrender to Mr. Gandhi's demands: First, it will be going against the solemn resolve on the part of a hundred million Muslims of India that they stand for Pakistan in India and will never submit to a Hindu raj or any unitary central Government of a Hindu majority; secondly, it would be the grossest breach of faith with the Muslims if they disregard all their declarations ending with the declaration of August 1940, which was as follows:

"His Majesty's Government, it goes without saying, could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a government."

It is in these circumstances that he has resorted to the slogan of 'quit India'. Mr. Gandhi and the Congress know full well that a disarmed India cannot accomplish this task against an unwilling Britain. I refuse to believe that Mr. Gandhi thinks for a moment that the British would willingly withdraw immediately at his request. And Mr. Gandhi himself admits that if such an event occurs without self-government or any constitution under which any government can be set up the result must be anarchy and bloodshed.

Mr. Gandhi cannot believe that immediately the British withdraw the representatives of various parties and interests will at once agree and set up a provisional government for this sub-continent. What is there to prevent them from agreeing now? It is utterly childish to say that no agreement can be arrived at so long as the British are here. But one thing is certain—no agreement can be arrived at on the basis of the terms that Mr. Gandhi dictates to the Muslims and the rest, and no system of government can come into being on those terms without the help of the British bayonet and under the ægis of the British, which task cannot be undertaken by Britain because it will be highly dishonourable; even if it is undertaken, such a system of government will break within a few months.

The Muslims have no objection to the British withdrawing from India to-day. What Muslim India fears is that in their distress British may commit the blunder of appeasing the Congress at the cost of Muslim India and other minorities and interests. Mr. Gandhi is leading the Congress and others who may be induced to follow him into disaster and there is yet time for him to halt.

This is a challenge to the British Government, in the first instance; and they are quite capable of looking after themselves. But it is also a challenge to Muslim India, as Mr. Gandhi has not only negatived their demands but without reference to or consultation with them is launching a movement whose one and only object is by hook or by crook to bring about a situation which will destroy the Pakistan scheme.

Muslim India cannot remain mere spectators. I am going to call a Working Committee meeting at an early date and shall have to decide what course to adopt to face this danger.

Statement on Congress Working Committee Resolution issued from Bombay, August 1942.

The recent Congress Working Committee resolution, although couched in different phrases, is substantially the same as the one which was passed in September, 1939.

In the resolution passed in September, 1939, the demand was for a declaration of immediate independence and freedom of India, with a provisional Government transferring all power of the Government of India, and secondly the right of the people to frame their own constitution through a constituent assembly to be elected by means of adult franchise. The only difference, therefore, between the two resolutions is that in the first what was implied by the declaration that was sought is now covered by the adoption of the slogan, 'quit India.'

Muslim India, as I have repeatedly said, stands for the complete independence of all the peoples of India. But we turned down the Congress proposals because the demand for a national Government to be set up immediately would have meant Hindu raj or a Hindu majority government.

As to the second item—the right of the people to frame their own constitution—the constituent assembly would have been one with an overwhelming majority of Hindus, and if it were to be elected on the basis of adult franchise the Muslims would have not secured even 25 per cent of its strength. It is a foregone conclusion what decisions such a body would arrive at.

HINDU MAJORITY

Not only this, but the fundamental principle was also laid down in September, 1939, that the constitution should be on the basis of an all-India federal government with units as autonomous as possible. This clearly meant that

even those zones which are the homelands of the Muslims and where they are in a majority would have been entirely under the Central Government with a Hindu majority in all vital matters.

This position the Muslims would not accept, as it clearly meant ruling out of order their demand for Pakistan and would have implied their submission to a Hindu raj as a national subgroup instead of their being a nation in fact, as they are, even in those parts of India where they are in a majority of more than 75 per cent, as in the North-West zones, and more than 70 per cent in the Eastern zones. In these two zones there are not less than 70,000,000 Muslims. But having ignored these 100,000,000 Muslims and other minorities and interests, the Congress has adopted the programme of mass civil disobedience, if their fantastic demand is not conceded by the British at once.

Congress leaders have now started foreign propaganda. According to them the Congress is fighting purely from an altruistic point of view and does not wish to have any share in the authority and power of the Government; the Government of India may be handed over to the Muslim League and they will willingly accept Muslim raj rather than British raj. What is most amazing is the fact that Mr. Gandhi has endorsed such individual utterances.

TOO GOOD

In the first place no intelligent man can believe the sincerity of such a desire, for it is too good to be true. But if they are sincere, I should welcome it. If the British Government accepts the solemn recommendation of Mr. Gandhi and by an arrangement hands over the government of the country to the Muslim League, I am sure that under Muslim rule non-Muslims would be treated fairly, justly, nay, generously; and further the British will be making full

amends to the Muslims by restoring the government of India to them from whom they had taken it. I am sure Muslims would welcome such a decision on the part of the British Government.

Another bit of propaganda is that the Congress is willing to come to a settlement with the League. Here again the proposal is disingenuous, because it had laid down the basis of settlement to be the unitary federal government, knowing full well that the Muslim League is opposed to such a basis.

It is evident that the Congress has definitely turned down any discussion of the Muslim proposal for the partition of India or the Pakistan scheme by the official resolution, passed on May 1, by the A.I.C.C. Pandit Jawaharlal recently made it clear that he would not even discuss the partition scheme and that it was a mockery. I have noticed in the Congress Press the prearranged correspondence which passed between a busybody of a Muslim, who landed in Bombay the other day from Hyderabad, and the Congress President. It leaves no doubt in my mind that they have made most contradictory statements and interpreted the official Congress resolution of May 1, in a manner which is most misleading.

MISLEADING

What is one to think when Congress leaders resort to such procedure and give publicity to it in this manner instead of communicating the proposals, if they have any, to me or to the Secretary of the All-India Muslim League? One can only conclude that it is meant for the edification of the public in this country and for propaganda abroad; and for a responsible organisation to resort to this method, if it is in earnest about a settlement, is hardly compatible with its prestige and reputation, unless the intention is to

create disruption among the Muslims and to mislead them. I am confident that these things cannot in the slightest degree mislead the Muslims of India. They can no longer be treated as children.

It is very painful to me to expose these tactics, but I have no other means of meeting this sinister propaganda in which the Congress seems to have specialised. I know it is said that some of my statements hurt it, but if speaking the truth, which is always bitter, and exposing the machination of our opponents hurt them, I cannot help it. The only remedy is that they should revise their methods.

Statement on the Congress Movement issued from Bombay
August 9, 1942

I deeply regret that the Congress has finally declared war and has launched a most dangerous mass movement in spite of numerous warnings from various individuals, parties and organisations in this country.

It is impossible to believe that the Congress leadears do not realise that such a movement will result not only in violence but bloodshed and destruction of innocent lives. It is to be deplored all the more that this movement is launched at this critical juncture with the object of forcing their demands at the point of the bayonet, which, if conceded, will mean sacrifice of all other interests, particularly those of Muslims in India.

As I have said I have summoned the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League and it will meet on August 16, in Bombay. Until the decision of the Working Committee I appeal to Muslims to keep completely aloof from this movement and not to surrender to the threats and intimidations of the Congress workers but to continue

their normal avocations peacefully. I also warn Congress workers not to molest or harass the Muslims in order to compel them to carry out their orders. Any attempt to force Muslims will lead to a very grave situation and Congress workers will be held responsible for the consequences that may ensue.

I still appeal to the Hindu public to stop this internecine civil war before it is too late. Peaceful solution is the only way under the conditions in which we are living. I think that responsible Hindu leaders will come forward and stop this reckless and thoughtless programme.

REPLY

Referring to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's speech at the meeting of the A.I.C.C. when he said, without disclosing the source of his information, that he had been informed that Sir Stafford Cripps was told on behalf of the Muslim League that the Viceroy's veto should not be removed or qualified in any way, Mr. Jinnah said: This is absolutely untrue and without any foundation. The rest of his speech is full of misstatements and I do not wish to repeat what I have already said before. He says that the Muslim masses are not reactionary and they are with the Congress, implying thereby that the Muslim League is a reactionary body, which is a libellous accusation against us. But if the masses, as he says, are with the Congress and the resolution of the Working Committee represents the voice of India, why bother about the Muslim League that does not represent the Muslims of India?

Pt. Nehru says that the Congress is prepared to pay any price (as if India belonged to the Congress) except the price of freedom and their honour. Who suggests that the freedom of the Indian peoples should be bartered away? We are firmly of the opinion that the quickest way to

achieve India's freedom is by the acceptance of the Pakistan scheme by agreement. I fail to see how the question of the sacrifice of honour comes in, if Hindu India were to accept the right of 100 million Muslims of India to self-determination instead of forcing them to remain in an artificial and unnatural union with most disastrous and dangerous consequences that must follow if such a course was adopted.

Special Interview to 'Daily Herald' of London at Bombay August 14, 1942.

In a special interview to the *Daily Herald* of London given on Thursday night Mr. M. A. Jinnah stated: The Muslim League would join a provisional war-time Government if it had equal voice with Hindus and assurance of Pakistan after the war. It would also consider any suggestion for a solution from any authoritative source.

Looking across the immaculate lawns to the Bombay sea-front of his beautiful villa, Captain Victor Thompson, war correspondent of the *Daily Herald* had a long interview with Mr. Jinnah.

Mr. Thompson says: Mr. Jinnah is as spick and span as his home. His smart grey suit fits his sparse figure perfectly. His ties and socks are gay but impeccable. With his monocle, acquiline face, piercing eyes and smooth grey hair, he looks like a handsome younger brother of George Arliss. He speaks with clarity gained from years at the bar. What he told me in response to my question is faithfully recorded here as an important announcement.

Mr. Jinnah said: "Indian independence? Yes, but first of all the United Nations must win the war, otherwise there will be no freedom for anybody. That is what the predominantly Hindu Congress Party refuses to see. Blind

to the big danger, Congress leaders have made demands that have left no negotiation. They delivered an ultimatum, backed by threat of mass civil disobedience. The Government, which had bungled and blundered in the past, had no alternative. Here they did the only thing open to them. The Government was faced with what is legally high treason.

Mr. Jinnah fully approves Government's arresting Congress leaders and taking firm measures to quell the riots."

CHANCE OF NEGOTIATIONS

Mr. Jinnah proceeded : " Now the Muslim League as well as the Government are being asked to make some concession, some gesture to open some kind of negotiations. Negotiations with whom ? There can be no negotiations until the Congress Party leaders change their minds and drop their campaign. The whole policy of the Congress has been that power must be transferred from British Raj to Hindu Raj. It says it wants a National Government, which means one in which Hindus, because of their preponderance in Central and South India, will have an overwhelming majority. Backed by British bayonets they want to rule hundred million Muslims in North-west and North-east India. But we will not be ruled by Hindus. We have had experience of it in provisional Governments. Hindu-domination in local affairs has meant persecution for Muslims. They try to force their ideas and culture on us. They try to eliminate our language. They force their text-books on our schools. As officials, they discriminate always in favour of Hindus. No, the gulf between Hindus and Muslims is too great ever to be bridged. How can you get together with people who will not eat under the same roof ? Can you ? Or let me put it this way : Hindus want to worship the cow while the Muslims want to eat it

Where can there be any compromise? In Hindu shops, proprietors will not take money from Muslim hands. It must be left on the counter and washed before being put in the till. Even a very dirty Hindu will not take water from my hands. Certainly, some Muslims have similar taboos, but Hindus have infinitely more. They even have strict castes among themselves. And so, since there is no way of coming together, the demand of Pakistan, which may be interpreted as partition, is the only way to real Indian independence.

PAKISTAN WHEN WAR IS WON

We want the British Government to declare now that Pakistan will be introduced when the war is won. Our aim is that those areas where Muslims vastly outnumber Hindus shall become a separate Dominion or even Dominions. After all, India never was under one rule until the British came. There are more divisions in India than there are in Europe. So we want to rule ourselves and let rule themselves. There would still be minority problems on both sides, of course. But they would be small and manageable and would gradually peter out. Victory must come first, however."

Statement on Collective Fines, September 1942

It is a matter of great satisfaction to me and those who are working for the great Muslim organisation that Musalmans have shown such remarkable discipline, solidarity and unity in complying with and carrying out my advice which was later confirmed by the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League on August 20, by

completely keeping themselves as a body aloof from the mass civil disobedience movement launched by the Congress.

I am thankful to all those who have helped us in giving effect to our resolution, and particularly the Muslim League organisations all over the country. I once more wish to ask the Musalmans to pursue their normal life peacefully and completely dissociate themselves from the Congress move for the reasons I have already given and which are more concisely and fully embodied in the resolution of the Working Committee of the League passed on August 20, 1942.

I also see from press reports and information given to me from private sources that the Governments of various Provinces are imposing collective fines in certain districts and areas. I wish to bring to the notice of the Governors of the Provinces and to his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General that there is serious apprehension left on the part of Musalmans that if those fines are based on a territorial principle innocent Muslims will also suffer although they have kept completely aloof. The Provincial and Central Governments must make it clear that Muslims will be excluded from any such collective fines that may have been imposed or may hereafter be imposed on such districts and areas. It is absolutely necessary that an early announcement should be made in order to remove any misunderstanding that may be exploited and further to allay fear and apprehension of the Musalmans.

Speech at a Press Conference at New Delhi on September 13, 1942

A very clear enunciation of the Muslim position vis-a-vis the Congress demand for provisional Government was made

by Qaid-i-Azam Jinnah, at a press conference on Sunday, September 13 last. Nearly all the British, American, Chinese and Indian press correspondents attended the conference, which was held at the New Delhi residence of Mr. Jinnah.

The Qaid-i-Azam was in excellent form and gave a lucid exposition of the Muslim case. He declared: Subject to agreements and adjustments which are satisfactory to us, I put no limit to the degree of power being transferred, but this is subject to the proviso, which is *sine quâ non*, that all parties must agree to and guarantee the right of the Musalmans to self-determination, and they must pledge themselves to give effect to the verdict of a Muslim plebiscite and carry out the partition of India accordingly. If this proviso was not complied with and if the provisional Government was formed outside the framework of the existing constitution and on lines which are urged in important quarters, then it will mean our walking like a fly into the spider's parlour: because if the provisional Government is to be formed outside the framework of the present constitution, it will involve radical and fundamental constitutional changes and once these changes are made, it will be difficult to wipe them off, nay impossible, after the war, if we were left without the guarantee and the proviso upon which we are insisting so much.

My fundamental point is that we do not want under the stress of the war emergency to be stampeded into forming a provisional Government of such a character and composition as would prejudice or militate against the Muslim demand for Pakistan.

CIVIL WAR

Invited to say what he thought of Mr. Churchill's speech, Qaid-i-Azam Jinnah said that Mr. Churchill was right in

stating that the Congress does not represent India and ninety millions of Musalmans are fundamentally opposed to the Congress. He added : I have already expressed my views about the Congress movement. It is not possible to defend the indefensible. I particularly want to emphasise that this is not merely a declaration of war against the British and the Government, but it is a war against the Muslim League, which means Muslim India, and the non-Congress organisations, who were neither consulted nor referred to, but in spite of whose disapproval and in utter disregard of whom, the civil disobedience movement has been launched in order to force their demands, which are most strenuously opposed by the Muslim League and no less by other minorities and interests in the country. Under the facade of nationalism the Congress demand, in short, from the British is to hand over to it power to establish Hindudom in this country. Its demand from the British is to apply sanctions against the Muslim League in particular and other non-Congress interests ; because we have refused to surrender our demand for self-determination for the Muslim nation. It is axiomatic to say that the Congress movement is unlawful and unconstitutional, because its avowed object is to subvert the Government established by law, but the greater objection is that this is a declaration of internecine civil war.

FALSE CLAIM

The Qaid-i-Azam disputed a correspondent's interpretation of Mr. Churchill's speech as declaring that Congress was not important. He said : The correct reading of the speech, as I understand it, is that the Congress has put forward an entirely false claim that it is the spokesman of, and it alone represents, the whole of India. I think that no man who has got any sense of fairness can possibly say

that this is a claim which has got any foundation whatever for it. But that was the claim made in the speech of Mr. Gandhi at the conclusion of the last meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Bombay and also in the speech of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Mr. Gandhi most emphatically maintained in his last speech that the Congress alone represented India. So did Mr. Nehru and he went further and said that the All-India Muslim League was a reactionary body and that the Muslim masses were with the Congress and the Congress reprsented the whole of India.

That not only is broadcast here ; it is broadcast all over the world, which, people abroad, naturally not knowing the realities of Indian conditions, believe. This sinister and systematic propaganda is carried on to mislead people and if you correctly read Mr. Churchill's speech he rightly repudiates this claim.

A correspondent tried to point out that the Congress claim was not that it represented the whole of India. Mr. Jinnah, however, overruled him and said he did not wish to enter into an argument.

NO CHANCE

I really think, the Qaid-i-Azam proceeded, so long as the camouflage is maintained by the Congress and other Hindu leaders who directly or indirectly subscribe to that untenable proposition, believe me, there cannot be any chance of an honourable settlement.

An American correspondent : Do you anticipate the possibility of a dishonourable settlement being imposed on India ?

The Qaid-i-Azam : So far as the Musalmans are concerned that has been my fear. We know in history many instances of dishonourable action on the part of the most civilised nations in the world.

Questioned about the Hindu Mahasabha, the Qaid-i-Azam said : If I may say so, it is the same as the Congress. In fact, I think the Hindu Mahasabha is much stronger in its hostility, so far as the Musalmans are concerned. They make no secret of it, be it said to their credit. They do not resort to camouflage or finesse of the Congress. Bluntly and point-blank they say that they want to establish Hindu raj in this sub-continent and the Musalmans must submit to it and if the Musalmans do not behave themselves they will be treated as the Jews are treated in Germany.

When a correspondent asked whether he could infer from this statement that Jinnah-Mookerji talks yesterday had not been very successful, the Qaid-i-Azam said : I cannot disclose the conversations but that even fire-eaters and people with unlimited ambitions become reasonable when the force of circumstances compels them to do so.

MUSLIM DEMAND

Asked if there was any chance of the modification of the Muslim demands, the Qaid-i-Azam declared : If you start asking for sixteen annas in a rupee there is room for bargaining. The Muslim League has never put forward any demand which can, by any reasonable man, be characterised as unreasonable. The Muslim League stands for independence both of the Hindus and of the Musalmans. Hindu India had got three-fourths of India in its pocket according to our proposals, and it is the Hindu India which is bargaining to see if it can get the remaining one-fourth also for itself and rid us out of it.

There can be no compromise on the question of the right to self-determination of a nation. It is their inherent birth-right and to deny that is to deny their very existence.

BRITAIN UNWILLING

Reverting to Mr. Churchill's speech, the Qaid-i-Azam said that the speech supported the Muslim League point of view that the British Government did not want Muslim co-operation and did not attach sufficient value to it. Mr. Churchill referred to the ninety millions of Muslims fundamentally opposed to the Congress. He then went on to say that they had their right of self-expression. This is the only gracious reference by the British Prime Minister to the resolution of the Muslim League passed in Bombay on August 20 last. Is this an indication that there is any desire to seek our co-operation? Is this the only value you attach to the Musalmans and the Muslim League that they are opposed to the Congress which is a fact, and that they have the right of self-expression, which is a self-evident truth? Is that all he has to say?

An Amercian correspondent asked "Would you be willing to form a national government with those who are willing to join one?

The Qaid-i-Azam answered by a counter question: Does it not assume that it is in my power to shift from 10, Aurangzeb Road (the Qaid-i-Azam's Delhi residence) to the Viceregal Lodge whenever I choose and say I am going to form a national government? How is it to be formed and by whom?

Pressed for an elucidation, the Qaid-i-Azam went on to point out that the British Government had completely ignored every other party except the Congress. The *Times*, for instance, stated recently, that no settlement could be made which ignored the Congress. I entirely disagree with that statement. By reading these things, the impression left on my mind is that the British policy still continues to be this that while protesting and emphasising that the Congress attitude is an impossible one, nevertheless, no-

thing can be done unless you bring the Congress along with you. I very strongly object to it. It comes to this that you are dictated to by one party whose demand is admittedly considered impossible.

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

Asked to elaborate his conception of provisional composite government the Qaid-i-Azam said: It means a government formed for a specific purpose during the period of the war. I do not exclude anybody, he went on, unless that body excludes itself. I do not proceed on the hypothesis that this party or that party is to be excluded. If we have to undertake the responsibility, I think it is obvious that those who want to undertake the responsibility would naturally do their utmost to get all the help, assistance and co-operation from every section of the people, unless that body, person or organisation makes itself or himself impossible.

The Muslim League is not supporting the war effort, Mr. Jinnah declared in answer to questions put by an American correspondent. It is not that the Muslim League is recalcitrant or inimical, it is unable to give wholehearted and enthusiastic support and co-operation in the prosecution of the war, unless people feel they have their real voice and share in the government of the country.

"GUTS"

But however much we may deplore and condemn the policy of the British Government during the last three years, nevertheless, our position is that of a melon. Whether the melon falls on the knife or the knife falls on the melon, it is the melon that gets cut. Suppose out of bitterness and anger at British policy, I was to say tomorrow: 'embarrass,

non-co-operate with the British Government,' believe me, it will create at least 500 times more trouble than was being experienced to-day.

It is not a question of guns. The Musalmans have five hundred times more guts, the Qaid-i-Azam said in reply to further questions. Any intelligent man in India will tell you. I do not want to cast any reflection on the Hindus. It is temperament and the way in which the Mussalman is brought up.

After the Qaid-i-Azam's description of the power of the Muslim League to hamper war effort, if they chose to do so, a British correspondent inquired whether it will affect the army and the Muslims in the Middle East.

The Qaid-i-Azam said that as this specific question was put to him he must answer it and proceeded that he did not wish to give any blood-curdling account and that he was not in touch with the army but he felt that as sixty-five per cent of the Indian Army was composed of the Musalmans the League campaign, if launched, will affect a large body of the army and besides the entire Frontier would be ablaze, and that from the newspapers of the various Muslim countries (such as Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Egypt) he gathered that the people there were in full sympathy with the demand of Muslim India and that the newspapers in those countries were strongly supporting the Pakistan demand, and therefore he thought they were bound to be influenced if there was a conflict between the Muslims and the British Government.

WHAT RESULT?

Reverting to the point the Qaid-i-Azam said: But I say to myself: True, we can give five hundred times more trouble, but with what result? I can only see two results to follow. The foreign aggressor will seize this country,

may be from the east, west, south or north. If that happens, what have I achieved with all my sacrifice ?—a change of masters ! And if the other parties are not with us it means internecine civil war. The other result is that if this revolution is set on foot by the Musalmans, I feel that even if it is successful in paralysing British power, resulting in its sudden destruction, the consequences of so doing will be that India will be broken to bits. And when I contemplate these results, however much I codemn British policy and however strongly I feel, I say I am in the position of the melon.

VOLTE FACE

On the other hand, the Qaid-i-Azam proceeded, the Congress has made a solemn decision and demand of 'Quit India,' from the British, adding that the question of settlement of Hindu-Muslim problem cannot be even considered until the British have withdrawn. This is the latest position taken up by the Congress which completely reverses the proclaimed and fundamental policy of the Congress for the last twenty-two years that there can be no freedom and independence for the people of India without the settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question and unity.

So long as this basis is maintained, said Qaid-i-Azam, where is the room for any negotiation regarding a settlement between the Hindus and the Muslims ? And yet, day in and day out, it is urged, specially by the Hindus, that the Muslim League should make a move for a settlement with the Congress and torrents of appeals are made to find the solution of the deadlock in co-operation with the Congress.

Message on the occasion of Id-ul-Fitr, October, 1942.

I wish the Musalmans a happy and prosperous Id-Ramzan and Id-ul-Fitr, as all other Muslim festivals, are

the universal festivals of Islam and are observed in all the countries and climes of the globe. Id-ul-Fitr is a symbol of Unity and Brothethood, divine and economic. Let us on this great and auspicious day take a solemn vow for establishing our rightful place in the present and also in the future new order of the world according to the light of Islamic heritage.

The Musalmans came to India as conquerors, traders, preachers and teachers and brought with them their own culture and civilisation and founded mighty Empires and built up great civilisations. They reformed and remoulded the sub-continent of India.

To-day the hundred millions of Musalmans of India represent the largest compact body of Muslim population in any single part of the world. They have their own national culture and civilisation distinct from others. They stand for complete freedom and equality of all nations and peoples. Muslim India is destined to play its part as a powerful factor in the world-wide struggle that is going on, as well as in the future new order and post-war peace and settlement of the world.

NATIONAL FREEDOM

At the same time we, the Musalmans of India, are determined to attain our national freedom and independence by establishing our own independent and sovereign states in the North-West and Eastern parts of this sub-continent where we are no less than seventy millions of souls and which are our homelands and where we are in a majority. I appeal, therefore, to every Muslim to stand solid by our goal of Pakistan, for it is a matter of life and death to us and to the futute destiny of Muslim India. Either we achieve Pakistan or we perish.

Let us to-day be one in spirit and one in mind. Let us

be united as a solid nation and come under the banner of the All-India Muslim League and further augment and strengthen our organisation which has already mobilised and solidified us in a manner and to an extent unknown in the history of British India.

The world to-day is passing through the greatest crisis known to history. Islam and Musalmans are playing no less an important part in this titanic world war than any other nation. Let us resolve to-day unitedly to play our part also in the forthcoming world peace.

The war is being fought no less on Muslim lands than on other battle-fields and some of the most important strategic points are in the Muslim countries. In India herself the immediate peril is facing the North-West and Eastern zones—the homelands of the Musalmans. We are passing through grave and dangerous phases of developments, both external and internal. Our foremost concern is, therefore, not only to achieve our freedom and integrity but our wholehearted sympathy and moral support go out to other countries that are fighting for their freedom and independence, particularly the Muslim countries.

MUSLIM COUNTRIES

It is a matter of no small satisfaction to us that just as we have taken an abiding interest in the freedom and prosperity of the Muslim States, such as Turkey, Arabia, Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan and other countries and our sympathies have always gone out to them, so I find that the people of Muslim countries to-day have similarly displayed their concern and sympathy in our struggle for Pakistan. Therefore, while we are engaged in our struggle for freedom and independence, let us not forget our brethren who in other parts of the world are doing likewise. Let us pray for their success. Let us also pray for those Muslim States who

are independent and sovereign that God may help them to preserve and maintain their independence and sovereignty.

No civilised nation can look upon this present conflict and clash of arms and the insane slaughter of mankind and the destruction of centuries-old civilisation with equanimity and without gravest anxiety. Let us hope and pray that time is not far off when this will bring such a universal peace and settlement, whereby it will not be possible for any nation to dominate and exploit another, but each nation will rise to its fullest stature and will have equal rights and opportunities to develop itself as free and independent people.

Statement to the Press, New Delhi, October 31, 1941.

There is a good deal of kite-flying going on in India and abroad and a new scheme to solve the Indian deadlock is propounded and published in the press almost every day by somebody or the other.

It is very difficult for me, therefore, to express my views on each of these schemes, because one is different from the other, and each one requires a thorough analysis and dissecting, a task which cannot be performed through the medium of the press in order to prove that they should be rejected.

PAKISTAN

The All-India Muslim League has made its position abundantly clear more than once. The position to-day, however, is that to the Congress or Hindu India Pakistan is an anathema. To Muslim India it is an article of faith. It concedes equal freedom and independence to Hindu India where the Hindus are in majority. Unless fundamentals are agreed upon, the details cannot

be tackled and there could be no settlement or dissolution of deadlock, fundamentals being that all parties, including the British Government, should agree to the Muslim right of self-determination and undertake to abide by the verdict of the Muslim plebiscite in those zones—north-west and eastern zones—where the Musalmans are in majority and give effect to it. On this basis provisional Government can be formed during the period of the war for mobilising all our sources to resist the aggressor, provided Muslim India has an equal footing in the formation of such government.

I once again repeat that any scheme which involves fundamental changes in the existing constitution or laws of India or which militates in any way against or prejudices or prejudges the Muslim demand for Pakistan will never be accepted by us nor would any scheme which establishes Hindu domination and hegemony supported by foreign bayonets.

FALSE PROPAGANDA

I regret that a section of the public opinion both in England and America of late, not knowing the realities and grave issues involved in the settlement of the constitutional problems of the two major nations living in this sub-continent and under the stress of war and war exigencies and emergencies is making all sorts of suggestions and proposals to secure whole-hearted and active support of the Congress to war effort without understanding the very foundation and root of the problem and is being misled by false propaganda that is being carried on. When some of these observations, comments and proposals are read here in the light of realities, they appear to be ridiculous.

Appeasing the Congress means sacrificing the Muslim India, which must lead to disastrous results. We are con-

cerned with 100 million Musalmans and their future destiny and it will be more desirable for people to stop this kite-flying. It is doing more harm than good.

Speech at the meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council, Delhi, November 9, 1942.

Since the last meeting in April we are again meeting to-day. Since April many things have happened both in India as well as abroad. Various developments have taken place and recently at Aligarh I gave a complete and concise survey of the present situation, specially of the political situation in India. I hope you have been carefully following the events that have been happening in India.

A section—a very well-organised section—in India whose main business is to misrepresent us abroad and mislead the opinions in America, China and England and other parts of the world, has been carrying on its propaganda. Naturally the American public knows very little about India.

There has been a systematic propaganda to misrepresent the Muslim League. Either we are misunderstood or misinterpreted or in a daring manner misrepresented as allies of British Imperialism in India, obstructing the path of its freedom and independence.

To those who have been correctly following the trend of its events in India this allegation about obstructing the path of freedom is not only disgraceful but untruthful. In these days the vicious methods of propaganda are capable of misleading even intelligent people.

The Muslim League's position is this and it has been put in the clearest language in the Bombay resolution. There is no doubt whatever that Muslims are a nation. As a national

group in their homelands in the North-West and Eastern zones they are no less that 70 millions in number. Our proposal is that in the zones we want our independent states and we cannot agree to any constitution on the basis of democratic central government of India.

We say we have the right to self-determination and in the zones where we are in majority those regions should be carved out as independent states. That is our inherent birth-right (Cheers).

MAKING OF THE BRITISH

India never was one, never was a nation, never was a country governed by one single power even with the sword. It is a sub-continent of different nationalities and peoples. It was never governed, in history, by one single power. Even to-day, when constitutionally and legally Britain is ruling over India, one third is not British. This administrative oneness is entirely the making of the British. This Government which has been in this sub-continent for 150 or 160 years is not a Government with the sanction of the peoples. (Cheers).

It is a democratic system imposed on the Moghul system. Its sanction is the British bayonets, and not the sanction of the peoples. (Cheers). There has been aroused a great political consciousness among the people and we want our freedom. We want to be masters of our own land; we would like to say good-bye and farewell to British domination over this land. (Cheers.) Our proposal of Pakistan presupposes the freedom and independence of India. (Loud cheers.)

It is obvious—I don't know how anyone can misunderstand it—that our proposal says: We agree to give three-fourths of India—territory larger than any single country except perhaps China or Russia—with a population of 250

millions, to the Hindus.

HINDU LEADERSHIP

According to our proposal, we say : Have your freedom and independence in your zones. Let us have our rule in our regions. It seems that Hindu leadership thinks ' we have three-fourths in our pocket. Let us see if we can diddle them out of the remaining one-fourth.' That is the spirit, that is the manoeuvre under the garb of the various proposals that we have seen hitherto.

It all comes round to this : ' National ' Government. Whose ' National ' Government ? Hindu National Government ! Another is majority Government responsible to the legislature. These are fine phrases of the day. It comes to this that Musalmans as a minority must submit and surrender to Hindu raj. That is a position that Musalmans will never accept. (Cheers.)

We are not living in old times. A struggle of life and death is going on. Grave dangers are threatening the frontiers of India. Naturally any sensible Indian would be only too glad to do all he can to mobilise all our resources in order to resist any aggressors. Our American friends can go back to America ; our British friends can go back to England. Where shall I go ? Therefore I am more vitally concerned in the protection and the safeguarding of this land than anybody else. (Hear, hear.) It is for this reason that we have said we want the British Government and other parties in this land to agree to the right of the Musalmans to self-determination and to abide by the plebiscite verdict of the Musalmans. If that verdict is in favour of a partition of India, of carving out independent Muslim zones, then all parties must make a solemn agreement and pledge and give effect to it.

Once we are assured of this by a solemn and honour-

able agreement we have repeatedly said that in the formation of the provisional government we, not as a minority but on an equal footing, shall not only place no difficulty in the way but shall do our best to see that all necessary power is transferred to that provisional government.

KITE-FLYING

So far the only reply that comes from every quarter—I mean from Hindu leadership—is kite-flying, and plane-flying and the appeal to this foreign nation or that foreign nation. What is the use of appealing to any foreign nation? Is that foreign nation going to run the government of this sub-continent?

The government of this land is going to be run principally by the two major parties, Hindus and Musalmans. That does not mean that the interests of the minorities are to be neglected. They also will have to be considered in any scheme of things that may be agreed upon.

NEW SPIRIT

This is the position. I find that there is some change coming over the thoughtful sections of Hindus, and I hope they will realise that we should meet and place our cards on the table as friends and see that justice is done to both. (Hear hear.) Let us hope that this spirit will soon display itself. In the meantime, we can go no further.

So far as the British Government is concerned we can't possibly defend the position of the Congress not only because their position is inimical to Muslim interests but also because they have launched a movement to force the Government's hands to surrender to the Congress and concede their demands, which meant a death-blow to Muslim interests. I hope that Hindu public opinion will

realise that and revise the policy.

BRITISH ATTITUDE

The British attitude is also un-understandable, curious. Because one party had adopted this course, which is meaningless and impossible, the British Government are marking time and are following the Asquithian policy of 'wait and see.' It is a great blunder. You cannot wait and see. The sands are running out. Our frontiers are not safe. Our battlefields are not out of danger and this policy of 'wait and see' is the greatest mistake that the British Government can make.

I should say, get on, get on and mobilise. If you cannot mobilise 100 per cent, mobilise 90 per cent; if not 90 per cent, mobilise 80 per cent, but mobilise. The sooner they consider, reconsider and revise their policy, the better. I think they ought, without any further delay, to concede the Muslim demand, which is just to the Hindus and fair to us. Concede that demand. I think the British Government, if they did that, will establish before the opinion of not only the bar of India but of all over the world that they intend to give the peoples of India independence as soon as possible.

I feel that Hindu India will not be able to condemn that position before the bar of public opinion in this country or elsewhere, because it is more than just and fair to them.

We have passed a resolution on collective fines. Instances have been brought to my notice in which collective fines have been imposed on Muslims, notwithstanding the admission of the Government of India and the British Government that Musalmans have kept completely aloof from the movement for which I take this opportunity of congratulating Musalmans on carrying out the instructions of

the All-India Muslim League. In fact, this has proved beyond doubt—is there any need after this of taking a plebiscite of the Musalmans ?—that Musalmans are not with the Congress and do not approve of its policy and programme (Hear, hear).

We know the administrative machinery of the Government of India has its own way. From this platform I once more draw the attention of Governors and the Government of India to this and ask that they should take every precaution that these fines are not realised from Musalmans who are innocent and who should be thanked and not penalised.

The reports coming from Kashmir are very alarming. There is a resolution regarding Kashmir. As regards the Kazaks it has not yet been possible to get the Government to come to any definite conclusion and final decision. I hope the Government will see that this question is satisfactorily settled.

The question of Haj Pilgrimage is causing great anxiety among Musalmans. Government has issued communiques and explanations why it is difficult to maintain the route protected. There are among us members of Haj Committee who will give details about it. The next question is regarding the Sind situation. The Working Committee has examined the whole case yesterday and the whole question has been referred to a responsible committee. The Working Committee will await their decision.

With regard to the Muslim League since we met last April I may say that the League organisation is really growing by leaps and bounds all over India. We have appointed a Civil Defence Committee which toured 14,000 miles in 2 months. The object was to organise Musalmans everywhere not with a view to creating trouble , but, in view of internal trouble that might take place or external elements which might cause trouble, Musalmans were asked purely as a defensive and humanitarian service,

to organise themselves in order to protect their life, honour and property. This did not mean that the organisation could not render any help or give any relief to non-Musalmans if it lay in their power.

Our 5-year plan is over. It has been carried out without any money or appeal to Musalmans. You will agree that our 5-year plan has been a success. The Muslim League has to-day under its flag not thousands, not lacs, but millions of Muslims. I have heard from the mouth of foreign correspondents and British people who had been going round that wherever they went Muslims were soildly behind the League. I say you have got millions behind the Muslim League. You have organised the Muslim League in a manner unknown in the history of India. You have a clear road before you. It is being made clear even to the illiterate. We have got a definite goal about which there is not the slightest doubt and we are determined to achieve our goal (Cheers). We are going on cautiously, slowly.

The appeal that I made for funds is also necessary to carry on the work of the huge organisation. It was a cold-bloocled method—a method very difficult for many. I have given no authority to any to collect money, but I ask the donors to send the money direct to me. In spite of the method I am glad I have received Rs. 4 lacs. Nobody is pressed ; nobody is persuaded.

It is for the first time that we have established a first-class English daily. It is only a few weeks old. It is not yet what we should like it to be. Still it can be compared with many papers in India of the last 25 years. As time goes on we may excel even the leading papers in India. Its finances have nothing to do with Muslim League funds.

Speech at the opening ceremony of Islamia College, Jullundur, November 14, 1942.

Advice to the Muslim youth to see what they could do to revolutionise Musalmans of the Punjab without taking part in the present political movement in the country was given by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, performing the opening ceremony of the Islamia College, Jullundur.

Mr. Jinnah was presented with addresses on behalf of the College and the College Union.

In a joint reply Mr. Jinnah stressed the importance of right type of education for Muslim youth, for it was the foundation of any nation, and was glad to find the Muslims of Jullundur alive to this necessity.

Particularly addressing the Muslim youth whom he described as pioneers in the Punjab of spreading the mission of the All-India Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah said that they had to be in the forefront of public life after finishing their studies. He recalled that in 1941 when he visited Lahore to preside over the Punjab Muslim Students' Conference the political condition of Muslims was far from satisfactory, but he was glad to find that since then they had galvanised and electrified the Punjab Muslims and to-day 99 per cent of the Muslims were with the League.

He advised the Muslim youth to see what they could do to advance the cause of the League without participating in the present political movement.

At the flag-unfurling ceremony Mr. Jinnah thanked the Muslims of Jullundur for organising a royal reception in his honour and congratulated them on their enthusiasm.

Dealing with the importance of the flag he advised them to make every possible sacrifice to preserve its honour and dignity as it was Islam's flag.

Mr. Jinnah recalled the League's endeavours during the past five years to organise Muslims throughout India and

said if they stood together their demand could not be resisted by any power.

Key to Pakistan is in your hands, he said, and if you use it properly you can achieve your goal of Pakistan.

Speech at a meeting held under the auspices of Muslim University Union, Aligarh, 2nd November, 1942.

Thanking the students for their great welcome, Mr. Jinnah said that the way in which they had received him might be taken as an honour by anyone in this country or any other. Referring to their contribution to the *Weekly Dawn* he said he deeply appreciated the spirit behind it, coming as it did from a body of intellectuals. He also thanked them for their contribution to the Muslim League Fund which, he said, was a message of encouragement for him. After all, what could one expect from young students by way of money? It was the spirit behind the offer that mattered. Big sums could only be given by fat and rich ones whom he did not yet know how to tackle successfully. (Laughter). But, said Mr. Jinnah, I must tell that many rich people have already paid me and shown a wonderful spirit. So far only a sum of four lakhs had been collected. Perhaps the method of collection which he had laid down was rather unusual. Those who possess wealth expect some humouring before they part with their money. During the last six years we had never appealed to Musalmans for money, and God knows how we have carried on this struggle so far without funds.

I find that the Muslim League now has so enormously grown and has become such a big organisation that its administration cannot be financed by one or two men. That is why I made this appeal which evoked response from all

classes. You will be surprised to know that I received money-orders even of two annas and four annas. The poorest people are sending their mite and are writing moving letters. If I were to disclose to you some of these letters you will know what spirit of sacrifice is burning in their hearts. They say they being poor cannot give money but they were ready to give their lives. Such small sums appealed to me more than the lakhs which a rich man can give. It shows that the Muslim League now represents not hundreds and thousands but millions of Muslims. (Cheers). I may remind you that at the last meeting of the Congress Working Committee, Pandit Nehru had the effrontery to say that the Muslim League was playing into the hands of British imperialism and the Muslim masses were with the Congress. The Muslims having kept themselves completely aloof from the Congress have proved beyond doubt that they obeyed the mandate of the Muslim League. It is demonstrated beyond any shadow of doubt that the Muslim masses are not with the Congress and we might now dispense with the plebiscite even. (Cheers).

I visit you every year and I have adopted the rôle of a reporteur. Let me now run through the story of the last few years quickly. In 1935 the Government of India Act was passed. The Congress and the Muslim League both were opposed to it. The Muslims were particularly opposed to the Federal part of the Act, but they were willing to work the Provincial part of the scheme for what benefit it might yield, though it had many objectionable features. Congress, on the other hand, decided definitely to [destroy the Act and wreck the constitution. But in spite of all this bombast about wrecking, what happened after the Provincial elections? They took office in the various provinces as Mr. Gandhi had actually succeeded in having a "gentleman's agreement" with the British Government and took shelter under the slogan that Parliamentary mentality had come

into existence. At that time Muslim India was dead as mutton. So far as the Provincial part of the constitution was concerned, Muslim India was thrown at the mercy of the Hindu Congress. The Governors were standing by, the Viceroy was standing by, while every department of the social and political life of the Musalmans was being crushed and every form of injustice, ill-treatment and persecution was being practised against them in Congress-governed provinces. Muslim League was an anathema and every effort was made to crush it. Where was the Viceroy then and where were the Governors? They were guilty of the highest breach of faith; they were guilty of not discharging their constitutional obligations to protect the interests of the minorities. We had two and a half years of this nightmare. Had the Federal part also been given effect to, it would have been a death knell to Muslim India. Now came the war. Out of evil cometh good! By September 1939 when the war broke out the Muslim League had built up a sufficiently strong position, so much so that the Government of India and the British Government could not ignore it. For the first time in a crisis like the war, along with Mr. Gandhi the President of the All-India Muslim League also was invited to meet the Viceroy. Do you remember any case before this when any recognised leader of Muslim India was invited along with the Congress leader? From that day Mr. Gandhi tried his best to get rid of the position that the President of the Muslim League on behalf of Muslim India had been given an equal status with the Congress leaders. He adopted one pose after another. During his first interview with the Viceroy he broke down and shed tears in thinking of the destruction of the Houses of Parliament and the Westminster Abbey and he said: "Of what use would India's freedom be if England were defeated!" and he advised India to give unconditional help to Great Britain. He then went to the meeting of the Congress Working Committee though,

mind you, he is not even a four-anna member of the Congress. He said, "What can I do? The Working Committee has taken its decision and these are its demands—Immediate independence together with a declaration of the right of the people (mark the word people) to frame their own constitution through a constituent assembly elected on adult franchise and as an earnest of it a national government should be immediately established at the centre to which the substance of power should be transferred forthwith." In the meantime while these demands were being pressed the Viceroy declared that the Federal scheme was suspended. As practical men we welcomed this announcement in so far as it went. But we asked for its total abandonment. We also made the demand that no constitution, interim or final, be imposed on us without our approval and consent. Ultimately the British Government were forced to abandon the Federal scheme. We found a considerable relief and finally in August 1940 his Majesty's Government by its declaration made it clear that no constitution will be imposed on India unless the major elements in the life of India agree to it and that the Musalmans and other minorities will not be coerced to accept any constitution which they do not approve of. The result was that Mr. Gandhi now started the game of coercion. In 1939 Mr. Gandhi and the Congress had already ordered the ministries to withdraw with a view to paralysing the constitution. He tried this and first the Madras Ministry resigned. He hoped against hope that the Viceroy will call him again, but instead the Viceroy immediately accepted the resignation and each Congress Ministry followed the same fate and the Congress-governed provinces were taken over under Section 93. Now, remember, what was the object of this method of coercion? Mr. Gandhi's sole aim is the revival of Hindu India and establishment of Hindu raj over the whole of Indian continent as the sole legal heirs and representa-

tives of the British raj, and that the Muslims should go under and be brought under their yoke. The only aim of this coercion, if it had succeeded, would have been to let down the Musalmans. Up to this time he maintained that there could be no mass civil disobedience, as the Muslim League were opposed to it, and that he did not want to embarrass the British Government. But he continued his process of coercion and discovered the slogan of 'freedom of speech', and under cover of liberty of speech he wanted to propagate his opposition to war efforts. He hit upon this plan and it was obviously meant to coerce and embarrass the Government and to corner them so that they should yield to their demand. After 14 months of this individual civil disobedience campaign, when he found that it was about to peter out, Mr. Gandhi discovered and so did the Congress, that Mr. Gandhi was not authorised by the Congress resolution to pursue this course and so the movement was abandoned. (Laughter).

Then came Sir Stafford Cripps to India in March, 1942. Naturally enough the British Government were anxious in their own interests that if they could reconcile the two great parties of India it would be good as it will secure their co-operation in the war efforts. So they sent a draft declaration through Sir Stafford Cripps. Let me tell you what it meant. First of all it promised that at the end of hostilities the British Government will give India complete self-government such as is enjoyed by any dominion or, for the matter of that, by England. Not only that, but they made it clear that India would have the right to secede from the British Commonwealth if she so desired. The draft declaration also envisaged a constitution-making body composed of ten per cent of the representatives to be elected by Provincial Assemblies. According to this procedure Muslim India would not get even twenty-five per cent of the seats. This body will frame constitution

for united India on democratic lines as the "Union." This was intended to placate the Congress. But the British Government also realised that if they stopped there, it would antagonise the Muslims who also counted as a force in the country and they had to consider how they were going to face Muslim India with regard to their Pakistan demand. For that purpose it was laid down in the draft declaration that after the constitution for the whole of India has been framed as the "Union," it would be laid before every provincial legislature to accede to it or not. The emergence of a constitution for one single Union of all-India from such a body was a dead certainty. However, a consolation was offered to Muslim India to stand out of the Union. The procedure laid down was a loaded dice against us. In the two major Muslim provinces of the Punjab and Bengal, the Muslims, though forming the majority of the population, are actually in a minority in the legislatures. The task set to us was that if we could secure 40 per cent. of the votes in the legislature against the constitution setting up the Union, then we could have a plebiscite of the whole province. So you see that the constitution-making body where we would count for nothing was hurdle No. 1. The Provincial Assembly which would decide whether to accede or not to accede is hurdle No. 2. If we successfully negotiated with both, then we would be presented with hurdle No. 3, a ndthe matter would be relegated to plebiscite. But whose plebiscite? Plebiscite of the whole province. The method proposed in the declaration was a mere eye-wash against us. There was no acceptance of the right of self-determination for the Mussalmans. We, therefore, found it impossible to accept it. But why did Mr. Gandhi reject the Cripps proposals? He thought that if Congress once accepted the principle of separation he would have to yield on the question of procedure which was manifestly unjust. It was because of this possibility of Pakistan materialising

that Mr. Gandhi rejected the offer. Then in order to side-track the issue of Pakistan he hit upon the slogan "Quit India" without consulting any other party. For the last twenty years he had harped on the theory that there could be no Swaraj without Hindu-Muslim unity, but though he talked a good deal about it he himself was the biggest obstacle in the way of unity. He decided to launch mass civil disobedience and declared that consideration of the question of Hindu-Muslim unity should wait until the British had withdrawn from India. This slogan of "Quit India" would have also gone by the board if the British had surrendered to Mr. Gandhi's wishes. Appeasing the Congress means sacrificing the Mussalmans. I do not say that the British Government refused to submit to the Congress because they had any love for us. They did so just because it suited them also. There are occasions when two persons who have no love for each other cannot help going on the same lines. Apart from this they realised that if they let down Muslims the League is now strong enough to make as big a hell, if not bigger, as the Congress can. They were afraid of us. As a matter of fact, this campaign of Mr. Gandhi is the gambler's last throw. What did you expect the Muslim League to do about this movement? Did you expect the Muslim League, knowing all the machinations and manoeuvres of the Congress, to support them in their mass civil disobedience? It is not only a war against the British, but it is also a civil war inasmuch as it is a fight for the Congress demands which are inimical to and destructive of Muslim rights. What would the British Government gain by appeasing the Congress?

It would have antagonised other elements and would have caused more trouble. If Muslims had joined the Congress movement in the name of freedom and independence, Mr. Gandhi would have represented to England and America and the world that he alone represented the whole of India

and that his demand was also supported by Muslim India. A greater folly and a more serious blunder the Muslims could not have committed if they had fallen into this trap. The natural course should have been that if we had any belief in the *bona fides* and honesty of the British, ordinarily we would have joined with them to crush the movement which was aimed against us equally. But I regret to say that we cannot trust the British either. They are playing their own game and, therefore, we only asked the Muslims to keep aloof from this movement. Let them fight it out. This is one of those cases where neutrality is the most effective policy on our part.

Now what has happened to that slogan of Quit India? What have the Hindu organisations been asking for since the 8th of August, and from whom? Instead of settling matters with their own countrymen, the hundred million Muslims, they have been sending appeals to England, America, and China and now Russia to take the initiative and help them. Mr. Jinnah then asked the Congress and Hindu India, "You had asked England to Quit India. Why then do you ask them to take the initiative? What initiative do you expect these nations or their Governments to take in the matter? Do you desire the United Nations to impose a constitution on India against the will and in spite of the opposition of hundred millions of Mussalmans?" If Hindu India has the least desire to come to a settlement with Muslim India is this the kind of method which they should follow? On the other hand, what is the attitude of the British? They say that the Congress is a Hindu body and is only one party among others. True! The Congress does not represent the majority of the people of India. True! But when I ask what about Muslim India of hundred millions and other millions of Indians who are not supporting the Congress party, there the British answer is a curious one. They take shelter

under the plea that Congress cannot be ignored. But it is admitted that the Congress has made itself impossible, and yet even for purposes of defence and mobilisation of the resources of our country the rest are equally ignored.

I ask any honest man whether the proposal of Pakistan, which presupposes independence and freedom for Hindu India as well as Muslim India and under which three-fourths of India goes to Hindus and only one-fourth to Muslims, is unfair? I say let us live as good neighbours and solemnly undertake that you will protect and safeguard our minorities in your zones and we will protect and guard your minorities in ours. (Cheers.) Let all parties including the Government agree to the right of the Mussalmans to self-determination and abide by the verdict of the Muslim plebiscite and guarantee and pledge to give effect to the Pakistan scheme and then the question of the Provisional Government may be easily adjusted. I have had the opportunity of meeting many Hindu leaders recently who were good enough to come and see me, and I have put it to them without any offence: when did the Hindus rule India last and what part of it? It is a historical fact that for nearly one thousand years the Hindus have not ruled any part of India worth mentioning. Our proposal concedes to them three-fourths of India and they can control the Government of Hindu zones according to our proposal. I appeal to them not to be greedy, because it seems to me that the Hindus think that we have conceded and, according to our proposal, they have got three-fourths in their pocket and, therefore, why not manoeuvre and grab the remaining one-fourth and establish Hindu Raj over the entire sub-continent. I say take three-fourth and do not grudge me one-fourth. Let me live according to my history in the light of Islam, my tradition, culture and language, and you do the same in your zones. (Cheers.) Let us thus live in peace. But the objective of the Hindu

leadership unfortunately is that they want us to surrender and consent to live as a minority in the whole of India under the domination of Hindu Raj. We will never accept this position. When we propose Muslim plebiscite it is on the basis that Mussalmans of India are by any and every definition a nation. (Cheers.) Nowhere in the world would 100 millions of people be regarded as a minority. Thus it is not a question of concession or compromise, protection or safeguards. It is a question of the inherent birthright of Mussalmans to self-determination as a national group inhabiting this sub-continent to establish their own states in those zones where they are in a majority. (Cheers.) We can not compromise on this issue. It would be compromising our very existence. If you talk to me as a minority there can be no settlement. If we are a nation it is for the Muslims alone to decide their future. But we ask you to agree to give effect to the verdict of the plebiscite of Muslims. Meanwhile we have no objection to a Provisional Government being established to mobilise all the resources of India for her defence. We are more vitally concerned with the defence of India as our homes and hearths are here. Americans can go to America, Chinese to China, and British to England ; but my home is here. Therefore I am more concerned in defending my home. However Muslim India cannot join the Provisional Government as a mere minority but only on an equal footing. (Cheers.) Their answer to our proposals is kite-flying, machinations and appeals to this foreign country and that.

People ask : Supposing the British and the Congress make up their differences and the former yield and surrender to the Congress demand, what will happen to us ? The answer is : if the British Government after all their solemn pledges attempt to sacrifice us, let us down and throw us at the mercy of the Congress Raj, believe me,

even united, they will not succeed if we are united and organised. (Cheers.) Now we are able to stand up and make such a Government impossible. Even the combined forces of China and America cannot impose on us a constitution which will sacrifice Muslim India. But if such a mad blunder is committed by the United Nations, remember even a worm turns, and notwithstanding the foreign bayonets upholding the Congress Raj, we shall make the administration of the country impossible (loud cheers); for it is far too grave an issue for us to submit to. It is a wicked move which involves the future destiny and prosperity of 100 million Muslims in this sub-continent. Faith, unity, and discipline I impressed on you as your motto last time. If you want to live and uphold all that is dear to you, the precious heritage of Islam, take your vow now and begin to work, work, and work and organize the Muslim League. That is your ultimate sanction and that is the ultimate weapon which you can forge.. (Cheers.) Further, there is a wonderful change in Muslim India. Team-work, selflessness, co-operation, help and service if you cultivate these qualities no power on earth can suppress you." (Prolonged applause).

Speech at the Annual Session of the All-India Muslim Students Federation, Jullundur, November 15, 1942.

The Muslim League's offer to mobilise the Mussalmans to keep the enemy out of India's doors and form a Provisional Government to which real power should be transferred, provided the British Government made a declaration and the other parties agreed to the right of Muslims to self-determination and guaranteed and pledged themselves to give effect to the verdict of a Muslim Plebiscite regarding the Pakistan scheme, was repeated by Mr. Mohd. Ali Jinnah,

addressing the second open session of the All-India Muslim Students' Conference to-day.

Mr. Jinnah thanking the members of the All-India Muslim Students' Federation for the honour done to him in asking him to preside over their deliberations dwelt on the task before the Muslim students. He endorsed the aims and objects of the Federation and advised them to follow faithfully and loyally the first article of the Constitution of the Federation, namely to arouse political consciousness among the Muslim students and prepare them to take their proper share in the struggle for the attainment of Pakistan.

He, however, warned them that while they were students they should prepare themselves for and not take an active part in the political struggle that was now going on in the country. They should organise the Muslim students of India into a compact body to safeguard their interests, undertake a constructive programme for the social, economic and educational uplift of the Muslim community and popularise Islamic culture and studies and encourage better understanding and goodwill among the various nationalities of India. They should also promote contact and co-operation between the Muslim students of India and those of Islamic countries and the rest of the world.

NEED FOR CAUTION

"I do not want you to misunderstand me," continued Mr. Jinnah, "when I say that you should not take active part in politics. I want you to prepare, equip and qualify yourselves. The first and foremost necessity is to study, study and study. There is no doubt that there has been a very great awakening, enthusiasm, emotion, sentiment, nay, catch-slogans but remember that the problem of India is one of the most complex and difficult of which there is no parallel in the history of the world. It is by having your

own minds clear by proper understanding that you can convert others, specially in these days of organised propaganda, which unfortunately stoops so low that there is so much of misrepresentation."

Mr. Jinnah congratulated the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation which had given a good account of itself since March 1941, by carrying from one district to another the message and programme of the League.

PRESENT DEADLOCK

Mr. Jinnah then proceeded to analyse the political situation in the country and said: "At present there is a deadlock. In May 1942, Mr. Rajagopalachari favoured the idea of Pakistan. (Prolonged cheers.) He is a great Hindu leader and a capable man and has been one of the foremost leaders of the Congress. Not only even his proposal—which is different from ours—was summarily rejected by an overwhelming vote of the A. I. C. C. at Allahabad, but another proposal which laid down that the Congress will have nothing to do with the question of Pakistan or the partition of India-Akhand Hindustan—was carried again by an overwhelming majority. Thereby they banged the door because they were not prepared even to discuss the question of the Muslim demand of Pakistan.

Mr. Jinnah asserted that there was not the slightest doubt that the Muslim League represented Muslim India, but it was completely ignored, and treated with the utmost contempt.

Mr. Jinnah went on: "Thereafter, Mr. Gandhi hit upon an extraordinary formula which was that the British must withdraw—I shall be very glad if they do it to-morrow: We shall settle our affairs all right. (Loud and prolonged Applause.)

"Mr. Gandhi now says that there is no question of

Hindu-Muslim settlement until the British quit India. It had been almost a creed and faith which Mr. Gandhi repeatedly announced that there can be no freedom and independence of India without Hindu-Muslim settlement. This was preached day in and day out and was one of the four pillars and conditions precedent to the attainment of the freedom of India. But this was thrown overboard overnight.

"An ultimatum was given to the British Government to quit India. Now why this suddenly at a time when Mr. Gandhi himself was partly negotiating, partly humouring, and partly coercing. At one time he actually shed tears and even said 'what use is India's freedom if Westminster Abbey and Parliament were bombed.' After these methods had been exhausted Mr. Gandhi was so angered as to tell the British to quit India. Why? The reason is obvious. He does not mean what he says and does not say what he means. (Cheers.)

"Any intelligent man can see that when he decided to launch mass civil disobedience, his one purpose was to coerce and embarass the British Government, who are already in great distress due to war, to surrender and make concessions to his demands which means destruction of the Muslims. That is the position which the Congress has taken up. They decided to launch mass civil disobedience. The ultimatum was contained in the decision itself but no time was fixed when the order would be given to fire or march. Before, however, an order could be given the British Government put them all in jail. Now I ask every Mussalman and the fair-minded Hindus to say what they expect the Muslim League to do now. That is where I will stop."

JOHN BULL'S POSITION

Mr. Jinnah then examined the position of John Bull who had said that they were going to fight to the finish with the Congress. He had told the world that the Congress was only one party and did not represent all Hindus even, far from representing the majority of the people of this country. Mr. Jinnah asked that if the Congress had taken up a meaningless and impossible position, what about the rest of India? He quoted figures given by British statesmen about Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Depressed Classes and those Hindus who were not with the Congress and asked what was the British Government's answer to the Muslims.

"Of course I am glad to say," Mr. Jinnah went on, "and I congratulate the Muslims that they in a body, from one end of India to the other, had kept completely aloof from the mass civil disobedience. (Cheers.) The tragedy of it is that it is a civil internecine war in this country and nothing else. I am also glad that the Congress leaders who are behind this movement have also tried their very best, as far as my information goes, to see that they should not interfere with the Muslims and they know that if they did, it will recoil on them."

"So far so good," said Mr. Jinnah, "but the British Government have taken up a position which is not understandable. They say what can they do? How can they form any Provisional Government ignoring the Congress. It is very un-understandable if the British Government are really sincere and want our hand of co-operation and friendship, which has been offered more than once: if they cannot get hundred per cent support let them start with hundred million Muslims."

BOMBAY RESOLUTION

Mr. Jinnah then explained the Bombay Resolution which was confirmed by the Council on November 9. "We have made our position clear," he said, "We want the British Government to make a declaration and want the other party to agree to the right of the Muslims to self-determination and guarantee and pledge themselves to give effect to the verdict of a Muslim Plebiscite and carry out the Pakistan scheme, the basic lines of which were laid down in the Lahore Resolution in 1940.

"If that is done we are more ready than anybody else, because we want to defend our hearths and homes and are ready to mobilise to keep the enemy out of India's doors. We are ready to form a Provisional Government on the basis of guarantee and pledge—to which real power should be transferred during the war. Here is a clear constructive proposal founded on fundamental principles. What is the answer?"

Mr. Jinnah then replied to the address presented by the Punjab Balmik Achhut Federation, Ludhiana, and said, "I shall never forget the interests of your community wherever I am. Those of you who will be living in our Pakistan shall be treated on a footing of equality of manhood not only according to our modern conception of civilised government but because of our religious instruction which enjoins that every non-Muslim minority under a Muslim Government shall be treated justly and fairly." (Prolonged Cheers.)

THE SIKHS

As regards the Sikhs, Mr. Jinnah said: "Since I am on the Punjab soil I should like to say that the question between the Hindus and the Muslims is an All-India question and the question between the Sikhs and the Muslims

is that of Pakistan and, for all practical purposes, it is a question between the Sikhs and the Muslims in the Punjab. If our Sikh friends wish—and we wish—that there should be understanding and settlement between them and us, then I tell them, ' let us not talk at each other but let us talk to each other.'

" We have no designs on our Sikh friends. I only appeal to them to free themselves from external influences, meet us, and I am confident that we shall come to a settlement which shall reasonably satisfy our Sikh friends." (Cheers.)

Mr. Jinnah stated that he had met Sikhs and talked to them in an informal manner. Some of them had now extended to him a most cordial invitation and he wished to thank them. " So long as the Sikhs", he added, " would proceed on those lines in the interests of their own community I would appeal to them : let us sit together and I pray to God that we shall come to a settlement."

PUNJAB DISCUSSIONS

Referring to the discussions which had been proceeding in the Punjab on the basis of a formula for a communal settlement Mr. Jinnah asked : " Who is the author of this formula ? " " Either it is colossal ignorance," he said " or a case of those who see it, know it and understand it but will not see it and don't want to understand it."

He recalled the various kinds of criticism against the Pakistan scheme which had now ceased to have any value and said : " Now the latest trick—I call it nothing but a trick to puzzle and mislead the ignorant, and those playing the game understand it—is why should the right of self-determination be confined to Muslims only and why not extend it to other communities. Having said that all have the right of self-determination they say the Punjab must be divided into so many bits likewise the N.W.F.P. and Sind,

thus there will be hundreds of Pakistans.

"Who is the author of this new formula that every community has the right of self-determination all over India. Either it is colossal ignorance or mischief and trick. Let me give them a reply that the Mussalmans claim the right of self-determination because they are a national group on a given territory which is their homeland and in the zones where they are in a majority. Have you known anywhere in history that sub-national groups scattered all over be given a State? Where are you going to get a State for them? In that case you have got 14 per cent Muslims in the United Provinces. Why not have a State for them? Muslims in the United Provinces are not a national group; they are scattered. Therefore, in constitutional language, they are characterised as a sub-national group who cannot expect anything more than what is due from any civilised government to a minority. I hope I have made the position clear. The Muslims are not a sub-national group; it is their birthright to claim and exercise the right of self-determination."

Speech at Flag-hoisting ceremony at the Punjab Muslim League Conference, Lyallpur, November 18, 1942.

Speaking in Urdu Mr. Jinnah said that Lyallpur is not only a big city in the Punjab but will also be a big city in Pakistan. He said, "To-day I have unfurled the Muslim League flag and I hope that all Mussalmans will stand solid under it. I have made many speeches and everyone knows what this flag stands for and I am sure that every Muslim will give his life for it. I have not words enough to thank you for the welcome you have accorded.

"Though I have been received like a king I have not the resources of a king to give you anything in return. However,

there is one thing which I can give and that is my whole-hearted and undivided service to the nation. I hope you will do the same and thus bring near the objective of Pakistan. As I hear these words sitting on the top of the pedestal raised for the flag and hear the shrill cry of Pakistan I have only to say that nothing can deter the Mussalmans from following their way to Pakistan.

Speech at the Punjab Muslim League Conference, Lyallpur, November 18, 1942.

The general reference made by Mr. Jinnah in his Jullundur speech to the formula for granting self-determination to all communities was further clarified by him. He said that the doctrine of self-determination required a very careful study and those who were responsible for this mischief knew perfectly well that they were misleading the people deliberately. He declared unequivocally that when he referred to this formula at Jullundur he was not referring to the formula recently floated in the Punjab which he had not yet studied; he was referring to the " mischievous idea " which was the last effort of the opponents of Pakistan. He added: If that doctrine was preached the whole idea of constitutional history and doctrine of self-determination would be reduced to absurdity. This doctrine presupposed that they were a national group—not sub-national group—living in a defined territory where they were in majority and could set up an independent State.

Earlier Mr. Jinnah was presented with a civic address by the Municipality which described him as an " apostle of the doctrine of self-determination for every community " and expressed the hope that he with his far-sighted statesmanship, breadth of vision and sterling qualities of head and heart would fulfil the expectation of his countrymen in

ending the present stalemate and leading his countrymen on the path of progress and prosperity.

Mr. Jinnah assured the Christian and Adharam Associations that the rights of their respective communities would be fully safeguarded according to the injunctions from the highest authority, namely Qur-an, that a minority must be treated justly and fairly.

Speech at the Punjab Muslim League Conference, Lyallpur, November 19, 1942.

Before the conference concluded, Mr. Jinnah addressed in Urdu, congratulating the Muslims of Lyallpur on the success of the conference and their enthusiasm, which he hoped would not subside after his departure. He stressed the necessity of educational and economic uplift of the Muslim community and referred to financial handicaps of the League owing to the absence of Birlas and Dalmias in the Muslim community.

He declared that they might stand in need of sword to prevent any aggression on their rights and emphasised the importance of gradual advance so that it might not be necessary to retract any step taken by them. He advised them to unite, for if they became sufficiently powerful they would be able to make and unmake ministries.

" Ministers," he declared, " must understand that they cannot remain in office without our consent." Mr. Jinnah was glad that there had been an awakening in the Punjab and advised them to carry the League message to every corner of the province and organise primary Leagues in villages. If they acted on his advice he was confident that they would succeed in establishing Pakistan.

Mr. Jinnah expressed his full sympathy with Khaksars and recalled the efforts made by the League for the removal

of the ban on Khaksar's organisation, culminating in Sir Sikander's announcement in the open session of the Conference that the Punjab Government had no objection to the removal of the ban. He expected the ban would be removed and Allama Mashriqi would be a free man shortly. He hoped that the Khaksars would come under the League flag and work in co-ordination with it, as they were passing through critical times and unity among Muslims was essential.

Concluding he declared, "We want to live honourably in this country and will never tolerate any Government in which we are reduced to serfdom."

Speech at a public meeting in Lahore, November 20, 1942.

The establishment of a strong Muslim press in India as the power of the press was greater than that of the sword was urged by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, addressing a mammoth meeting of Muslims in Lahore this evening. He was presented with an address and a purse of Rs. 3, 001 by the Lahore City Muslim League and an address presented by the Punjab Depressed Classes Association.

Mr. Jinnah called upon the wealthy among the Muslims to contribute liberally for the economic and political uplift of their co-religionists in India than which he thought there was no nobler cause. He spoke of the achievements of the Muslim League and said that it had acquired a status which had to be recognised not only by everyone in India but all the world over.

Mr. Jinnah recalled that when he first stated four or five years ago that the democratic parliamentary system of government was not suited to the conditions and requirements of our people there was a howl in the country but now most people had come to accept the position that the

democratic parliamentary system was not suited to India.

There was a similar howl in the Hindu press when he said that the Muslims were not a minority but a nation. At that time he was called a lunatic, but now they were getting used to it and beginning to talk on the basis of even the two-nation theory. Again there was another howl, Mr. Jinnah went on, when the League passed a resolution in Lahore demanding the partition of India. Now, however, there were many who openly said that the question should be considered, while there were many others who agreed but had not the courage to speak.

Time was not far off, added Mr. Jinnah, when their opponents would give up intrigues, machinations, and manœuvring. If they examined the proposal of Pakistan honestly, dispassionately and in fairness and justice he had no doubt that they must come to the conclusion that it was the only solution of India's complex problem and the only method of enabling the two major nations to live happily in peace and friendship.

He emphasised that the Hindus would never be able to rule over the Muslims; they should give up this dream. "If you don't take what is due to you," he concluded, "let me have what is due to me; if you don't, I will take it."

Replying to the address presented by the Punjab Depressed Classes Association, Mr. Jinnah reiterated that his sympathies were with them as their's was the worst lot in the world.

Statement at a Press Conference at Lahore
November 21, 1942.

"If Maulana Azad could issue instructions from jail to the Sind Congress Party regarding the formation of a ministry in Sind, there was nothing to show that

28

Mr. Gandhi would not be allowed to declare from jail abandoning the civil disobedience movement," stated Mr. M.A. Jinnah at a Press Conference in Lahore to-day, when it was suggested to him that the failure of the movement might have changed the mind of the Congress leaders and unless an opportunity was afforded to them to express a change in their policy there was no possibility of breaking the deadlock.

He added: " We consider that the decision of the Congress is not only a declaration of rebellion against the British Government but it is an internecine war, and this movement is launched to force the hands of the British Government to bow to the Congress wishes which we consider to be the destruction of our demands. The Congress decision is meaningless and impossible and unless there is a change in their policy there is no way out of the deadlock. So long as the Congress and Mr. Gandhi do not drop the pistol there is no chance of negotiations."

PAKISTAN

Mr. Jinnah was asked if he would agree to the postponement of the Pakistan issue till after the war in case the Congress joined hands with him and took over from the British Government the entire power and transfer of authority to form immediately a Provisional Government?

He replied: " When we are wanting power to be transferred it must be to some system of Government to be set up immediately—then why postpone the question of Pakistan. If the system of Government is to be so fundamentally changed why should the Pakistan issue be shelved."

Mr. Jinnah explained that they placed no limit on the transfer of power to any Provisional Government that might be set up. It would be a matter of agreement and adjustment between the major parties on a perfectly equal

footing for the purpose of mobilising all their resources and defending our hearths and homes, provided at the same time it was agreed that the major parties accepted the right of Muslims to self-determination and pledged themselves to give effect to their verdict and carried out the partition of India. At present they had made the offer that the verdict of a Muslim Plebiscite should be accepted—the plebiscite of course to be confined to Muslims in areas where they were in majority.

" In the absence of such an agreement, what would you do ? " Mr. Jinnah was questioned next. He said : " My answer is that if I accept the Congress demand I shall be signing my own death warrant."

In reply to another question Mr. Jinnah said that he considered it an insult to say that he preferred British rule.

TALKS WITH ' C. R.'

Referring to his recent talks with Mr. Rajagopalachariar, Mr. Jinnah said, " There has been no agreement between Mr. Rajagopalachariar and the Muslim League. Mr. Rajagopalachariar has no sanction behind him and as such he cannot deliver goods. He is a great man and I had discussions with him."

When you speak of self-determination for Muslims, do you visualise redistribution of provincial boundaries in the Punjab, asked a Pressman. Mr. Jinnah said, " The first question is whether you are prepared to agree to the partition of India according to the basic principle laid down in the Lahore resolution. Once the basic principle is recognised, full scheme can be considered."

Mr. Jinnah explained that this was not for the first time in history that the territories were partitioned ; it had been done before. " If you find," he said, " there is a national group living on a large portion of territory where they are

in a majority and if they want to have their separate independent state then that territory has to be carved out as an independent state." He declined to discuss further details.

As regards the latest formula in the Punjab, he said, "I have obtained a copy of it but have not yet studied it. I, however, must say that no settlement is worth the paper on which it is written either in the Punjab or anywhere else, so far as Muslims are concerned, except with the League."

Speech at the Jinnah Islamia College for Girls, Lahore, November 22, 1942.

Addressing a crowded meeting of Muslim women held under the auspices of the Jinnah Islamia College for Girls, Mr. Jinnah said:

"It has now become crystal clear to the world that Indian Mussalmans are not a minority but are a nation and as a nation they want to set up their independent states in those territories where they are in an overwhelming majority. Mussalmans do not want a national Central Government as there is no Indian nation as such. Some of our fellow-countrymen are placing obstacles in our way but they can never succeed in their machinations."

Mr. Jinnah continued, "I am glad to see that not only Muslim men but Muslim women and children also have understood the Pakistan scheme. No nation can make any progress without the co-operation of its women. If Muslim women support their men, as they did in the days of the Prophet of Islam, we should soon realise our goal."

Referring to the Jinnah College, Mr. Jinnah said that he was very pleased to hear the report read by Fatima Begum, Principal of the College. "This College," said the Qa'id-e-Azam, "has made great progress during the past few years. I wish the organiser every success."

Speech at a reception given in honour of his birthday at Delhi on December 25, 1942.

"Neither the Government of India nor the British Government can divert us from our goal—Pakistan—which is now an article of faith with us," declared Mr. Jinnah, President, All-India Muslim League, amidst loud cheers, speaking at a reception given to him on his birthday by prominent Muslim citizens of Delhi.

Mr. Jinnah was the guest of honour at an At Home in Willingdon Pavilion this afternoon where he was presented with an address on behalf of the Muslim citizens of Delhi.

Poems in Urdu were recited which paid glowing tributes to him for his great qualities as a leader and his outstanding achievements.

Opening his speech with a humorous reference to the poetic licence indulged in by those who recited the poems, Mr. Jinnah said there was no restriction on the freedom of poetic imagination; but his own position was somewhat different. Every time he opened his mouth he had to think a hundred times over before he uttered anything.

Referring to the reception given by the Muslims of Delhi on his birthday, Mr. Jinnah said there could be no greater happiness for him than to be in the midst of such a gathering, greeting him with affectionate regard. He deemed it a great honour that not only hundreds but millions of Muslims are appreciating whatever services he had done to his people.

Referring to one of the poems which said that Qa'id-e-Azam is growing younger, Mr. Jinnah said: "If I am getting younger—and I believe I am—it is the feeling of happiness over being treated by the people of India with such regard and affection. Happiness is a tonic."

Mr. Jinnah continued: "While the addresses and poems were being read, I had a thought revolving in my mind.

The position of Muslim India during the last 200 years has been that of a ship without a rudder and without a captain, floating on the high seas full of rocks. For 200 years it remained floating, damaged, disorganised, demoralised, still floating. In 1936 with the co-operation of many others we salvaged the ship. To-day the ship has a wonderful rudder and a captain who is willing to serve and always to serve. Its engines are in perfect working order, and it has got its loyal crew and officers. In the course of the last five years it has turned into a battleship."

Speaking of the reward of those who have ceaselessly worked for Muslims, Mr. Jinnah said: "The greatest reward is that to-day there is that Muslim unity and solidarity, Muslims are to-day speaking with one voice. You have not only a flag and a goal, but also a platform. I venture to say that there is no other community in this sub-continent which is more organised than Muslims to-day. (Cheers.) Let us thank God for it.

"We have to forge our own charter—not the Atlantic Charter. But it is Pakistan. Pakistan is there. We have only to take it. We have to prepare ourselves for every sacrifice. We have worked only for five years. If we work with the same spirit I have no doubt that Pakistan will be achieved sooner than we may have anticipated. Muslim India to-day is entirely different from what it was five years ago." (Cheers.)

Referring to the attempts made to divert the Muslims from their cherished goal, Mr. Jinnah said: "Let me tell you it is not going to make the slightest difference to us. Neither the Government of India nor British Government can divert us from our firm determination to achieve our goal, namely, Pakistan, which is now an article of faith with us. (Cheers.) No greater happiness can come to me if I can see it established in my lifetime.

"I cannot give you anything. I cannot give you any

reward, nor any post nor any title. Every Mussalman that I meet I ask for some sacrifice, some hard work. In spite of this position that I can give you nothing, Muslim India is showing such regard and affection for me. What is the mystery of this. It is obvious because I have spoken what was in the hearts of millions of Muslims boldly, served you faithfully and led you truthfully. I can give you nothing except my service. I shall continue my service of the Mussalmans and Islam. (Prolonged cheers.)

Speech at a meeting of the Muslim Students' Federation, Bombay, January 24, 1943.

"This key to resolving the present deadlock primarily rests with Mr. Gandhi and the Congress leaders. If they show real and genuine desire it is possible to solve the problem," declared Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, replying to numerous suggestions made that Mr. Jinnah holds the key to resolve the present deadlock.

Mr. Jinnah was addressing a meeting of the Muslim Students' Federation.

"It is suggested," observed Mr. Jinnah, "that the Muslim League and I, as its President, should take the initiative to get the Congress leaders released from jail. It is a flattering and complimentary attribution offered to me. But let us examine the situation in the country."

Mr. Jinnah recalled the Congress resolution of August 8 last and the attitude which the Congress had adopted during the last two decades towards Indian freedom. As late as 1942 Mr. Gandhi had said : "So long as there is no workable arrangement with the Muslim League, civil resistance must involve resistance against the League. No Congressman can be a party to it."

On another occasion, Mr. Gandhi had said that a mass movement during war, without communal settlement would lead to civil war and would be an invitation to suicide. Mr. Gandhi had emphasised that independence could never be achieved without Hindu-Muslim agreement.

"QUIT INDIA" SLOGAN

The next question was, Mr. Jinnah continued, why suddenly had Mr. Gandhi and the Congress adopted a policy which culminated in that resolution of August 8, 1942. The policy of independence first and Hindu-Muslim settlement afterwards and the adoption of the slogan of "Quit India" against the British was a sudden, complete and revolutionary change and an unprecedented somersault. This policy had naturally resulted in the British Government adopting their policy against the Congress mass civil disobedience movement.

"Do the Congress or Mr. Gandhi or other Hindu leaders think that they can achieve the independence of India without any agreement with the Muslim League?" asked Mr. Jinnah and continued: "The policy adopted—as has been stated by Mr. Gandhi—is a suicidal policy. Maybe that the Mussalmans are numerically one-fourth.

"But you cannot always go by counting heads. The Muslims are a very powerful nation in this sub-continent.

"The attitude of the Congress leaders is quite clear. Mr. Gandhi and the Congress think that they are strong enough to compel the British Government to surrender and submit to their demands at the sacrifice of the vital and paramount interests of Muslim India. The ignoring of the Muslim League could have no other meaning."

In this connection Mr. Jinnah referred to the recent resolution adopted by the Hindu Mahasabha at Cawnpore and said: "The Mahasabha which is a counterpart of the

Congress makes no bones about it. They say, "We are going to get the freedom and independence of India with you if you like, and without you, if you won't come."

Proceeding Mr. Jinnah said that the parties concerned, apart from ignoring the Muslim League, were attempting to coerce and intimidate the British Government with the threat of dire consequences. He asserted that a hundred million Mussalmans would undoubtedly revolt and would never submit to be at the mercy of the Hindu Raj.

Mr. Jinnah continued: "On the contrary, the decision of the Mahasabha would only give a handle to British die-hards to use the unanswerable argument that 'we can do nothing if there is no agreement among the major parties.' Supposing the Congress succeeded or that the British Government quitted India and according to the conception of the Congress, India became independent, Mr. Jinnah asked, whether the Congress would be able to retain the freedom of this sub-continent. It was obvious that Muslim India would never submit to Hindu Raj and the result would only be anarchy and chaos.

Mr. Gandhi himself had stated that after the British leave they may come to a settlement or they may not, and further stated that there may even be bloodshed and civil war.

Mr. Jinnah continued: It was, therefore, difficult for one to understand and follow the policy of the Congress or that of the Hindu Mahasabha. But there were newspapers that kept on writing and made suggestions that some sort of compromise should be effected. Several other suggestions and proposals had emanated from various other quarters also. They clearly showed that they did not believe in the 'Quit India' policy. What they wanted was compromise, compromise not with the Muslims but compromise with the British Government. They wanted the British in this country, though that was not their official policy. They

were not for immediate independence or for 'Quit India' but for the establishment of some sort of government which would enable the Hindus to dominate and strangle the Muslims gradually under the aegis of the British.

"MOONSHINE"

Mr. Jinnah characterised such dreams as mere 'moonshine', and he asked whether the British Government was going to put "Gandhi and Nehru on the 'gaddi' of the Government of this sub-continent to dominate over the Muslims and others with the help of the British bayonet. If the Congress and the Hindu leaders sincerely wished for the freedom and independence of both the nations, Hindus and Muslims, then there is no other way except to agree to the Pakistan scheme. Whether we live as friends and good neighbours or else, if the Congress continued to talk of 'Akhand Hindustan' and united India, the prospect is continuation of slavery for all."

Mr. Jinnah asserted that 'Akhand Hindustan' meant, as had been made clear by the Mahasabha resolution at Cawnpore, complete domination by the Hindus.

BRITISH REACTION

Once again referring to the suggestion that the League should take initiative in solving the deadlock in India, Mr. Jinnah said that in this connection the reaction of the British on the question should be studied.

He read out extracts from Mr. Amery's recent speech at the celebration of Akbar's Quarter Centenary and said ; "Mr. Amery has made a discovery of a historical nature and has been studying the pattern of Akbar's Government for the post-war reconstruction of India. The British Government in India, too, is constituted like Akbar's Government.

Akbar had Hindu ministers and Muslim ministers. Akbar knew he had to rule over both. He was eminently concerned with his own autocratic rule and that was no rule at all. He went, as far as he could, placating the Hindus at one time and placating the Muslims at another. He nominated his own ministers from different nationalities for civil and military administration. The Hindus were never reconciled to his rule and when there was any trouble either with Hindus or Muslims, Akbar did his job whether through his Hindu or Muslim ministers. That is the system of Government which is sought to be perpetuated in this country. United India means that so far as the people are concerned they have no voice and it is the rulers who will rule by manœuvring. It is that system which the British Government in India is following and desires to continue.

"The present Executive Council of the Viceroy is on the same pattern as that of Akbar's. There are Muslims, Hindus, Parsis and the Sikhs, all nominated by the Viceroy to do his job."

"GEOGRAPHICALLY ONE"

Referring to H. E. the Viceroy's speech at the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta, Mr. Jinnah said:—

"While Mr. Amery was engaged in the research of Indian history and preached united India, we find that the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, has suddenly discovered almost seven years after his stay here that India is geographically one. What does this indicate to any intelligent man. The Hindu Mahasabha by its Akhand Hindustan resolution which it adopted at Cawnpore has made a New Year present to the British die-hards."

Under the circumstances Mr. Jinnah asked how he could resolve the deadlock. There had been no evidence of a change of attitude on the part of the Congress since

August 8. Though many Congressmen were in jail yet all Congressmen were not in jail and the "Hindu press was not in jail."

So far there was not any sign of any change of heart. There has been no great proposal except rigid adherence to the position that the Congress has taken up by the resolution of August 8 and which has been endorsed in a most aggressive form by the Hindu Mahasabha.

NEED FOR CLEAR THINKING

"Is there no body of men with clear head, a body of the Hindu opinion with sanction behind them, who have a proposal for the solution of the present deadlock? Is there any body of opinion which can give some assurance and which has some sanction and authority behind any definite proposal it makes of a change of heart and a change of its attitude and its desire to negotiate and come to a settlement with Muslim India and Muslim League?" asked Mr. Jinnah.

"If you analyse the whole position," he added, "you will find the key to resolving the present deadlock is in the hands of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress by evincing a real genuine desire for a change. Otherwise the great authority attributed to me is merely complimentary. I did not have the power to put them in jail and how can I have the power to open the jail gates?"

After reiterating the Muslim League demand for Pakistan Mr. Jinnah advised Muslim students without in any way sacrificing their studies to engage themselves in social work among Mussalmans during their vacation. He also advised them to study the state of affairs in India and abroad.

Speech at the meeting of Bombay District Muslim Students' Federation, January 25, 1943.

The Bombay District Muslim Students' Federation presented Mr. M. A. Jinnah with a purse of Rs. 1,500 last evening. Thanking the students for the purse Mr. Jinnah said that it was not the money that mattered but the concrete proof of the appreciation of the services which the Muslim League was rendering.

Appealing for funds, Mr. Jinnah said that there was no single man in this country amongst Mussalmans who could bear alone the financial burden of the administration and requirements of the Muslim League. In March last he issued an appeal for Rs. 10,00,000. He knew that if properly approached many people would have given large subscriptions and the whole amount would have been collected. So far no organised effort had been made to collect funds and all subscriptions were sent to him direct. Mr. Jinnah expressed the hope that the required amount would soon be subscribed.

Mr. Jinnah exhorted the Muslim students to study the course of internal and international developments. Book knowledge alone would not do. The problem of India, he said, could not be divorced from what was happening elsewhere in the world. After studying deeply the policy and programme of the Muslim League and after convincing themselves of the utility of the League and its goal, students could become missionaries of the League and carry its message to the masses.

Speech at Ismaili College, Bombay, February 1, 1943.

Emphasising the Muslim League's demand for 'Pakistan'

vis-a-vis the present political dead-lock in the country, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, in an address to the students of the Ismaili College declared that it was a matter of commonsense that if the two parties in the country made combined efforts then the British Government would yield. So far the position of the British Government was that they wanted " to stabilise and consolidate the deadlock." They proclaimed that they were only too ready to transfer power, provided there was unity. Some asked whether they were sincere and his reply was: why not disarm the British Government of an argument which they advanced both at home and abroad? "Tell them that we are agreed," said Mr. Jinnah, adding " hand over the power. Then will be our time for a struggle which will be of one voice, under one authority and united command of all the peoples of this country. Why not create that situation ? " he asked.

Earlier in his speech Mr. Jinnah denied that the Muslim League was fighting for religious rights or that it was a communal organisation in the same sense in which the Hindus understood it. The religious rights of the Mussalmans were embedded in their soul and body and none could take them away."

WHAT IS RELIGION ?

"Which Government," he asked, "claiming to be a civilised Government can demolish our mosques, or which Government is going to interfere with religion which is strictly matter between God and man ? The question is that the Mussalmans are a nation, distinct from the Hindus.

"The Muslims ruled over this country for nearly 800 years and for the past two centuries both the Hindus and Muslims were ruled by the British. During the last half a century people have begun to think and strive that any

Government must be responsible ultimately to the people.

"It is a historical fact that the Mussalmans are a separate nation and hence we must have our own States."

Mr. Jinnah emphasised that the sooner Hindu leadership appreciated the Muslim point of view the sooner would be the salvation for both. He thought it was the best thing for the Hindus to seize three-fourths of India with its teeming population and to establish their own homeland and to live according to their social life and to treat the minorities under them just as any civilised Government should treat.

"As far as we are concerned," Mr. Jinnah said, " we make this solemn declaration and give this solemn assurance that we will treat your minorities not only in a manner that a civilised Government should treat them but better because it is an injunction in the Quran to treat the minorities so."

Message on Pakistan Day, issued from Delhi, March 23, 1943.

To-day the 23rd of March is a day of great significance to Muslim India. On this auspicious day, three years ago, was declared, at Lahore, for the first time authoritatively from the platform of the All-India Muslim League, the final national goal of Muslim India, which later on came to be known as the 'Pakistan scheme!'

The progress that Mussalmans, as a nation, have made, during these three years, is a remarkable fact. Never before in the history of the world has a nation rallied round a common platform and a common ideal in such a short time as the Muslims have done in this vast sub-continent. Never before has a nation, miscalled a minority, asserted itself so quickly, and so effectively. Never before has the mental outlook of a nation been unified so suddenly.

Never before has the solidarity of millions of population been established and demonstrated in so limited a time and under such peculiar circumstances as are prevalent in India. Three years ago Pakistan was a resolution. To-day it is an article of faith, a matter of life and death with Muslim India.

It is not mere sentiment or propaganda that has helped us in establishing our national solidarity. It is really the justice of our cause, the fairness of our demand and our birthright to self-determination, by which, to-day, we are proud to stand and for which we are prepared to die.

We have embodied our goal in the famous Lahore Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, as the only Solution of the political problem of India. It is a proposal that will bring universal peace and will uphold and ensure the maintenance of honour and glory of the various sections of the peoples inhabiting this sub-continent.

We have created a solidarity of opinion, a union of mind and thought. Les us concentrate on the uplift of our people for their educational, political, economic, social and moral well-being. Let us co-operate with and give all help to our leaders to work for our collective good. Let us make our organisation stronger and put it on a thorough efficient footing. In all this, the final sanction and censure rests with and upon the verdict of our people. We, the Muslims, must rely mainly upon our own inherent qualities, our own natural potentialities, our own internal solidarity and our own united will to face the future.

"I particularly appeal to our intelligentsia and Muslim students to come forward and rise to the occasion. Train yourselves, equip yourselves for the task that lies before us. The final victory depends upon you and is within our grasp. You have performed wonders in the past. You are still capable of repeating the history. You are not lacking in the great qualities and virtues in comparison with the

other nations. Only you have to be fully conscious of that fact and to act with courage, faith and unity."

* * *

Message to N. W. F. P. Muslim Students Federation, April 4, 1943.

It is really gratifying to note that the Muslim intelligentsia in your Province is now up and doing and realises its responsibility towards the Muslim national cause, to uphold which is the duty of every one of us. The turn of events in the recent past has demonstrated beyond doubt that the All-India Muslim League is an organisation essentially of our people and has for its sanction and support the good-will and confidence of the whole of Muslim India.

Your province, by virtue of its unique position, is a very important province. Its importance will still be increased by the establishment of our national homelands of Pakistan for which we are struggling now. It is a source of great encouragement to me that our people in your province have started to organize themselves. Strengthening yourselves is, really speaking, strengthening the borders of Pakistan, a thing which will enable us to achieve our goal and thus maintain our freedom, honour, prestige, and glory of Islam for which we are now fighting.

MESSAGE IN THE QUR-AN

You have asked me to give you a message. What message can I give you ? We have got the greatest message in the Qur-an for our guidance and enlightenment. All that we have got to do is to know ourselves and the great

qualities, virtues and powers that we possesses. Let us work up to that great ideal. Let us utilise our great potentialities in the right direction. Let us forego our personal interests and conveniences for the collective good of our people and for a higher and nobler cause. Pakistan aims at it and if we stand united, organised and faithful to our cause, the time is not far off when we shall achieve our goal and prove ourselves worthy of our wonderful and glorious past.

I appeal to our Muslim brethren in the North-West Frontier Province to understand the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League and study carefully the game that our opponents are playing. Do not be led away by mere slogans and catch-words. Do not be misled by mere appearances. Adhere to your principles and you will fear none but triumph. We have to regain the ground that we have to come to our own once over again. The task is hard before us, but it all depends upon us alone; and if we work steadily with courage, optimism, self-confidence, discipline and unity, *insha Allah*, we shall win the battle very soon. One hundred million of Muslims are determined to achieve Pakistan where we have our homelands, and there is no power which can hold us back.

Go ahead with your work and I wish you God-speed!

Presidential Address delivered extempore at the thirtieth session of the All-India Muslim League, Delhi, April 24, 1943.

Delegates of the All-India Muslim League, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I thank you heartily for having once more elected me as the President of the All-India Muslim League. It is an

honour that to-day any man may envy and covet. I hope in the coming year I shall be able, with your co-operation and support, to guide the course, policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League. In the first instance, I would like to give you a report and tell you what various developments have taken place so far as the internal affairs of the All-India Muslim League are concerned.

BENGAL AFFAIRS

Ladies and Gentlemen, in the course of this one year since we met last at Allahabad, there is not the slightest doubt, that the Muslim League is moving from strength to strength throughout India. (Cheers.) In Bengal you know that we have suffered for the last sixteen months. It was our misfortune that even amongst our own ranks, our own people were made the spearhead of treachery who betrayed Muslim interests. (Applause.) I think, it is now settled beyond doubt that during the last 15 months Bengal Muslims have organised themselves in a manner in which they had never before done, at any time in the history of Bengal. (Cheers.) They were persecuted under a Chief Minister, who, I am ashamed to say, was a Mussalman. (Cries of 'shame, shame.') Ladies and gentlemen, if I were to give you an account as to what extent this ministry headed by Fazlul Huq stooped—no decent human being can ever stoop to the foul methods he adopted. (Shame, Shame.) But I congratulate the Mussalmans of Bengal (hear, hear) and in this I give a very great share of the credit to the Muslim youth of Bengal who stood the racket. (Cries of 'hear, hear' and cheers.) Well, we had a pointer some months ago in Natore election. The candidate that was put forward by our opponents against our candidate, I am happy to say, forfeited his security and in every bye-election we won and in the last one in the Upper House we won cent per cent.

This tyranny, this persecution, this manœuvring, these machinations in utter disregard of elementary principles of justice and fairplay were resorted to by an organised Government headed by Mr. Fazlul Huq. Thus we have gone through the crucible of fire in Bengal. And to-day Fazlul Huq is no more and I hope for the rest of his life he will be no more. (Cries of hear, hear and loud cheers.) He often said that if he was a hindrance, he was willing to go. But he never went. (Laughter). I say with all due deliberation and with all responsibility that he was not only a hindrance but a curse to the politics of Bengal. He was a curse to the Mussalmans because he betrayed us ; he was a curse to the Hindus because he served them, as a puppet and their creature. He has met his Waterloo. (Laughter). Let him now remain in St. Helena and repent for the rest of his life and pray to God so that He may forgive his sins.

Bengal has therefore shown that there is no room for duplicity. Bengal has set an example from which others may learn a lesson. (Cries of hear, hear and loud cheers.) It is now the voice of the League, the voice of the people, it is now the authority of the Millat that you have to bow to, though you may be the tallest poppy in the Muslim world. (Renewed cheers.)

I am glad,—although, I do not think that we need indulge in great exultation,—that the Muslim League Party is running the Ministry in Assam. The Chairman of the Reception Committee very rightly announced that the Muslim League Ministry or the dominant Muslim League Party is running the ministry in Assam. Similarly the League has now formed a ministry in Bengal and so in Sind and the Punjab. But now, while we approve of it, do not run away with the idea that we have won and that is all that we wanted. This is only the starting point (cheers) and it is not that we are ready and willing to make all sacrifices for the ministries, we expect the ministries to make all the sacrifices for

us. (Loud cheers.) So long as the ministries remain within the orbit of the fundamental principles and the policy of the League they shall certainly have our support. But I want to make it once more clear that the time has now come when we shall not hesitate to withdraw our support from any ministry that does not follow the League principles. (Cheers.) I have told you about Bengal.

SIND'S UNANIMOUS SUPPORT

Now, let me tell you that you will find that in Sind, to-day,—believe me, I am not exaggerating—almost 99 per cent of the Mussalmans are with the League (cheers) and the League is being organised there in a manner which really if you were to follow you would not believe how this progress has been made. In the North-West Frontier Province—it is the only Muslim province which remains to-day under 93*—my information is, and it is based on very reliable sources,—that within the last 16 or 18 months Muslim public is entirely with the Muslim League. This information is based not on our agents or other people, but it is based further upon the testimony of foreign correspondents who have been there and examined the situation.

CORNER-STONE OF PAKISTAN

Similar is the position in the Punjab. But I regret to say that the Punjab has not yet played the part that it ought to play and is entitled to play ; because, remember, the Punjab is the corner-stone of Pakistan ; and I particularly appeal to the delegates from the Punjab—people are alright in the Punjab—when they go back, 'please'—I won't

*Since the address was delivered the Muslim League has formed a stable ministry in N.-W.F. Province and has won all the four bye-elections to the Provincial Assembly.

say anything more—'please' substitute love for Islam and your Nation, in place of sectional interests, jealousies, tribal nations and selfishness. (Cheers.) For these evils have overpowered you and you are being ground down for the last 200 years. But I see a light—a very bright light. Because, I say, when I went to the Punjab in November last throughout my tour, it really made me happy to see that the solid body of the people were all right and sound. My appeal is to the leaders and we have got very able men, very capable men—if they were to make up their minds, I feel confident that within six months the face of the Punjab would be changed. Well I have told you roughly and in some way what the position of the League in these majority provinces is.

MINORITY PROVINCES

Do not forget the minority provinces. It is they who spread the light when there was darkness in the majority provinces. It is they who were the spear-heads that the Congress wanted to crush with their overwhelming majority in the Muslim minority provinces. It is they, who had suffered for you in the majority provinces, for your sake, for your benefit and for your advantage. But never mind, it is all in the rôle of a minority to suffer. (Cheers.) We of the minority have suffered and are ready to face any consequences if we can liberate the 75 millions of our brethren in the North-Western and Eastern zones

We have got a great deal to do. Of course, it has now been made clear as to what we are struggling for. Any one who now pretends that he does not understand, well, what shall I say? He is a fool or a dishonest man. Our goal is here: our demands are clear. What is it that we want? We want to establish independent states in those zones which are our home-lands and where we are in a majority. In other words we do not want to be in union

with those zones where the Hindus are in a majority and the Mussalmans are in a minority. Now let me give you some idea of the background of the movement in India for the independence of India.

A RETROSPECT

Ladies and Gentlemen. In the first instance the Act of 1861 and the Act of 1884 gave a very small kind of representation to the so-called Council of the Governor-General. If you will remember, a small beginning was made of elected representatives being sent either to the Imperial Council as it was then called or the local councils, or to other muinicipal or local or district boards in the country. The result of the working of the Act was—I am not exaggerating—that it was not possible for any Mussalman to get elected. Then came the Minto-Morley proposals in 1907, the first time when seriously this elective principle was going to be enlarged or increased. At that time the Mussalmans, who had learnt by experience from 1884 downwards right up to 1907, made a demand for separate electorates. Mr. Gokhale who was a great Hindu—and I was quite a young man at that time—and who had learnt at the feet of that great man, Dadabhoy Naoroji, naturally came to imbibe certain principles, one of which was that we must try to bring an equitable adjustment between these two major communities in this land. Mr. Gokhale at that time championed the cause of the Mussalmans. With his liberal and broadminded statesmanship, and he was a tower of intellect, this is what he said in 1907 :—

" Confronted by an overwhelming Hindu majority, Muslims are naturally afraid that release from the British yoke might in their case mean enslavement to the Hindus. (This is not a fear to be ridiculed.) Were the Hindus similarly situated as are the Muslims in regard to numbers

and other things would they not have entertained similar misgivings? We would undoubtedly have felt the same fears and adopted the identical policy which the Muslims are adopting to-day."

HINDU NATIONALISM

It is men of the character of that great Dadabhoy Naoroji that inspired us with some hope of a fair and equitable adjustment. But remember, even at this period signs were there that there was a section which was dreaming in terms of Hindu Raj. I give you one quotation from a prominent Hindu leader—Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal. You will see that even as far back as 1913 that was the definite aim of a large section of the Hindus. This is what Mr. Pal says in May 1913:

"National differentiations among us, therefore, have not been based upon territorial demarcations only or upon political or economic competitions and conflicts, but upon differences of culture. Under the Muslims we had, whether Hindus or Mussalmans, one common Government, but that did not destroy the integrity of Hindu culture. We took many things from our Mohammedan neighbours, and gave them also something of our own, but this interchange of ideas and institutions did not destroy our special character or our special culture. And that special character and culture is the very soul and essence of what we now understand as Nationalism. This is by no means a mere political idea or ideal. It is something that touches every department of our collective life and activity. It is organised in our domestic, our communal, our social and our socio-economic institutions. In fact politics form, from some points of view, the least important factor of this nation idea among us. The so-called free political institutions of Europe might, indeed, hinder instead of helping the growth of our real national life; while under conceivable conditions,

mere political subjection might not be able to touch even the outermost fringe of that life."

Then he goes on:

"The Nationalist Movement in India which, so far, is essentially a Hindu movement, stands:

I. Ideally, for (1) Hindu Nationalism; (2) Federal internationalism; (3) Universal Federation.

II. Practically for (1) the preservation of the distinctive genius and character of Hindu culture and civilisation. (2) The promotion of sympathetic and reverent study of other world cultures. *e.g.*, Christian and Islam, representing the composite of modern India, and the cultivation of the spirit of mutual understanding and the helpful co-operation with them. (3) The continuance of the British connection through the gradual building up of a federal constitution for the present association called the British Empire, a Federation in which India and Egypt shall be equal co-partners of Great Britain with Ireland and the British colonies. (4) The advancement of Universal Federation."

He stands for what? Hindu Nationalism. But as I say, undaunted, hope sprang almost eternally in my heart and soul, derived from Dadabhoy Naoroji. I was not going to give it up, but nourish it. After the Karachi session of the Congress in 1913, I redoubled my efforts. What happened? Those of you who remember it, know, it was our set purpose to remove this misunderstanding. There were many others who were a pillar of strength amongst the Mussalmans as well as the Hindus who made great efforts. I was the arch culprit in this mission. I therefore tried and succeeded to get these two organisations—the Congress and the Muslim League— to meet at least in one city. That was in 1915. It was after laborious efforts that I got them together in the city of Bombay. At that time as it happened, the war was on and it was expected that the Government would make some declaration of policy on

Constitutional reform in this country. Our friends the British at that time—even to-day I don't think they have given up this game—did not want that these two organisations should meet in the same city,—leave alone under one roof. You know, Ladies and Gentlemen, that session of the All-India Muslim League at its first meeting was broken up under the very nose of the police. We asked the Government to hold an enquiry as we felt that it was with the connivance of the police and with the support of the bureaucracy that the meeting of the Muslim League had been broken up. I do not want to go into details. It is a matter of history. I want just to skip over those events and give you the background. They saw through that and we were not far wrong. At the end of the next year, that is, in December 1916 the Congress and the League again met at Lucknow and there we signed, sealed and delivered the Lucknow Pact, known as Hindu-Muslim Lucknow Pact. But that Pact was mutilated by the British Parliament in various ways. After that came the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms declaration.

ENTER MR. GANDHI

It was in 1916-17. While this was going on, came Mr. Gandhi on the horizon. Let us see what happened. Mr. Gandhi puts his declaration in 'Young India' on the 12th of May, 1920—You will remember that in this same auspicious month of May Mr. B. C. Pal made his declaration seven years ago—and what does Mr. Gandhi say ? :

" It will be seen that for me there are not politics but religion. They subserve religion. "

You will see later what Mr. Gandhi has done in pursuance of his declaration. He says further :

" The politician in me has never dominated a single decision of mine, and if I take part in politics, it is only

because politics encircle us to-day like the coil of a snake, from which one cannot go out, no matter how much one tries. In order to wrestle with this snake, I have been experimenting with myself and my friends in politics by introducing religion into politics."

Let me tell you, Ladies and Gentlemen, he has done that with a vengeance, as you will perceive when I go further. In 1921 after he had captured the Congress at Nagpur he said in 'Young India' on 12th October, 1921 :

"I call myself a Sanatani (Orthodox) Hindu because, firstly I believe in the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Puranas and all that goes by the name of Hindu scriptures and therefore in Avatars and rebirth." Ultimately he himself became an Avatar. (Laughter and applause.)

"Secondly, I believe in the Varnasharma Dharma (the law of the Caste System) in its Vedic forms.

"Thirdly, I believe in the protection of cow as an article of faith, and fourthly, I do not disbelieve in idol worship."

He says in a milder form "I do not 'disbelieve' in idol worship."

In spite of these declarations which are so clear and unequivocal the Hindu Nationalists got a little nervous about it. They did not know that here is a man, a far-sighted, shrewd man. So there was a little apprehension and nervousness and in order to reassure them, this is what he said in 1924 :

"It has been whispered that by being so much with the Mussalman friends, I make myself unfit to know the Hindu mind. The Hindu mind is myself. Surely, I do not live amidst Hindus to know the Hindu mind when every fibre of my being is Hindu."

"My Hinduism must be a very poor thing if it cannot flourish under influences the most adverse."

And yet, Ladies and Gentlemen, you will remember that when I expressed my desire to meet him as a Hindu leader

he resented it and yet he says, " every fibre of his being is Hindu " which means that his Hindu mind is impregnable. This was in 1924. (Applause.)

1925 AND AFTER

Ladies and Gentlemen.: From 1925 onwards, as you know, many efforts were made for the adjustment of Hindu-Muslim differences. Every time we were the petitioners, the supplicants standing at the doors of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress, with our proposals formulated. For some reason or other the reply was " No ". They never made any counter-proposals. You remember, we formulated in 1927 at Delhi some proposals. Somehow or other, fortunately or unfortunately, those proposals were substantially accepted by the Congress at Madras at the end of 1927. Therefore, the communal settlement was brought about and two committees were appointed, by the Muslim League and the Congress, to make jointly a political demand. Let me tell you that when these two committees met, it was Mr. Gandhi who smashed it up (cries of shame, shame) and the Nehru Report was started contrary to the resolutions of these two organisations and after the two committees had actually met but dissolved. So we were forced to withdraw our proposals. What happened next ? Then came the Nehru Report. You know the history of it. I shall only tell you what Maulana Mohamed Ali said about the Nehru Report. He was an independent man. Some of the Muslims in the Congress had suffered more than anybody else. This is what Maulana Mohamed Ali says :

" In the days of the rule of the British India Company the Government street-criers used to announce the dual sovereignty of India before notifying any Government notice, proclaiming the formula, namely, *Khalq Khuda Ki—Mulk Maleka Ka—Hukam Company Bahadur Ka* (the

people belong to God, the country belongs to the Queen Victoria, and the Government belongs to the Company Bahadur). (Laughter.)

But under the proposed regime of the Nehru Scheme of Mr. Gandhi the Government street-criers will announce the new dual sovereignty of India by declaring the formula, namely, *Khalq Khuda Ki—Mulk British Ka—Hukam Mahasabha Bahadur Ka*—(The people belong to God, the country belongs to the British and the Government belongs to the Hindu Mahasabha Bahadur). (Tremendous applause.)

Presiding over a public meeting in Bombay in 1930, Maulana Mohamed Ali, who had worked, suffered and made sacrifices, along with the Congressmen, says :

" Mr. Gandhi is working under the influence of the communalist Hindu Mahasabha. He is fighting for the supermacy of Hinduism and the submersion of Muslims. He has never consulted the Muslim community on the question of starting Civil Disobedience movement. He wants to triumphantly pass over the head of the Indian Muslim community. We have not broken any pledge, pact or treaty. We are not traitors of India. The Mussalmans have been oppressed and persecuted by the excesses of the Hindu majority in the last ten years but Mr. Gandhi never tried to improve matters or condemn Hindu terrorism against the Muslims. He never denounced the movements of Shuddhi and Sanghatan which openly and clearly aimed at annihilation of Muslims and Islam in India. He repudiated and broke the Madras Hindu-Muslim agreement. Now we have no option but to follow the Qur-anic teaching, namely, " If you fear treachery and pledge-breaking from any community, then throw her treaty on her face. Allah does not approve the action of traitors and pledge-breakers." (Applause.)

Now we come to the Second Round Table Conference to which Mr. Gandhi went for the first time as the

sole representative of the Congress. What happened there? All attempts for a settlement were again smashed up by him very clearly and with some excuse or other. You will find in Dr. Ambedkar's book that one of the conditions that Mr. Gandhi imposed upon the Muslim delegation in London was that he would be prepared to agree to our proposals on the express condition that we, the Muslims, should oppose the scheduled castes asking for any kind of separate electorates or special treatment. In other words Mr. Gandhi did not want special treatment to be given to the scheduled castes. Now I ask you, Ladies and Gentlemen, how is it possible for any man, who has got any elementary idea of honour, of integrity, of fairplay, of justice, to agree to this, that these 60 millions who are the biggest blot, on the fair name of India, should be kept as untouchables at the mercy of the Sanathannists, Mr. Gandhi being one. I assure you, in the name of humanity I care more for them than for Mussalmans. (Cries of hear, hear and cheers.) After all, we, Mussalmans, are capable of giving and taking. (Cheers.) After all, we, Musalmans, cannot accept condition so offensive and absurd as laid down by Mr. Gandhi. Second condition was that you Muslims agree that you will fight for the freedom of the country. Am I so degraded as to accept such a condition? I want the freedom of the people of this country more than anybody else. (Cheesr). It looked as if Mr. Gandhi had the monopoly for the love and the freedom of the country. (A voice, 'He does not want freedom') The thing naturally broke down. When the Minorities Committee of the Round Table Conference met, this is what Mr. Gandhi said —and the real thing that was at the back of his mind always came out at the critical moment, in a roundabout away. He was addressing the Minority Committee and Mr. Macdonald was presiding. He said:

"Further, you will allow me to say that this was hardly the time to summon the Minorities Committee. The solution

of the communal tangle can be the crown of Swaraj Constitution and not its foundation. Our differences have hardened, if they have not arisen, by reason of the foreign domination. I have not a shadow of doubt that the ice-berg of communal differences will melt under the warmth of the sun of freedom."

What did Mr. Macdonald say? Even the Prime Minister was provoked to such an extent that he spoke out. Whatever may be said about Mr. Macdonald, he had really a very soft corner for the aspirations of India. This is what he said to Mr. Gandhi:

"Be honest and face the facts. The communal problem is a problem of fact. Does the problem exist in India or does it not exist? I do not answer. I leave you honestly to answer it for yourselves and to yourselves.

"Then if the communal problem does exist, how can it be discussed with a view to settlement, either in India or here?— At the foundation of any progress towards the setting up an Indian constitution lies the problem of community representation, community rights, community protection and so on . . ."

GANDHITE INSTITUTIONS

That closed the chapter of the Round Table Conference. What happened then? I will tell you very briefly. Mr. Gandhi put up the following institutions:

1. "The Gandhi Ashram" (Monastery) at Sevagram, Wardha (to serve as the vatican of Gandhism and the Capital of the Congress).

2. "The Gandhi Seva Sangha" (a small body of nine Gandhian Cardinals or High Patriarchs who form the permanent Inner Cabinet of Gandhi and Gandhism).

3. "Gandhi Harijan Seva Sangha" (to consolidate the Depressed Classes as an integral part of Hinduism and to

prevent their conversion to Islam or Christianity).

4. "Gandhi Hindi Prachar Sangha" (to propagate Sanskritised Hindi as the state and national language of India and to displace Urdu from its place of primacy and popularity).

5. "Gandhi Nagri Prachar Sabha" (to propagate the idea that all Indian Languages should be written in Hindi Devanagari Script and to displace Urdu Script).

6. "Gandhi Gram Sudhar Sabha" (Village Welfare League to preach and propagate Gandhian Principles in the Villages).

7. "Gandhi Khadi Pratisthan" (to preach the cult of the spinning-wheel and Khadi or hand-woven cloth which is worshipped as a fetish).

8. "Gandhi Wardha Talimi Sangha" was also later organised to propagate Gandhian principles of religion, spiritualism, national economy and nationalism through a state controlled system of compulsory primary education. Under the Wardha Scheme the entire system of education of the country was sought to be made subservient to the propagation of Gandhism (which was only a new form of Hinduism to the exclusion of all other religions).

9. "Gandhi Gow Rakhsha Sabha" (Cow Cult Association).

Gandhi is a great believer in the Hindu Cow Cult—the worship of the cow as a goddess. He has, therefore, made Gow Rakhsha Sabha and Cow Exhibition as an adjunct of the Congress.

Gandhi Seva Sangha is the Mother-Superior of all these associations. (Laughter.) Mr. Gandhi addressing the Gandhi Seva Sangha says:

"Spheres of action of these associations is limited. But yours is unlimited. Yours is a mighty tree of which these various associations may be called branches."

This is how he addressed his Mother-Superior. Not only

that, but you will find that he appointed certain Deputies. Besides dividing the whole sub-continent of India into three definite Parliamentary zones and appointing three Parliamentary Zone-Dictators like their Nazi counterparts of District Fuehrers, there have also gradually developed permanent Deputy Mahatmas in almost all provinces and zones. These deputy Mahatmas are the confirmed Cardinals of Gandhism, believers in the Gandhian principles and Gandhian Dictatorship and carriers of his message, and executors of his orders. For instance, the permanent Secretary of the All-India Congress Office is " Acharya " Kripalani, a great exponent and theorist of Gandhism and author of the famous article, " The Gandhian Way." " Kaka " Kalekar is in charge of the Gandhian programme of Hindi and Nagri. Mr. Mashruwala is in charge of the Grand Council of Cardinals of Gandhism—The Gandhi Seva Sangha. Mr. Arya Nayakam and Mr. Kumarappa are in charge of the Wardha Education Scheme. Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, the Deputy Gandhi of Bengal, is in charge of Khaddi Pratisthan and Gandhi Ashram in Bengal. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Deputy Gandhi of Bihar is in charge of the Sadaqat Ashrams in Bihar. Frontier Gandhi, Abdul Gaffar, is in charge of the Hinduising influences and emasculation of the martial Pathans, the bugbear of the dreamers of Hindu Raj. (Applause.) He is in charge of Gandhi Ashram in N. W. Frontier. Sardar Patel is the Deputy Gandhi in Gujrat, and Bombay. Shankar Rao Deo is the Deputy Gandhi of Maharashtra. Dr. Pattabhai Sitaramiah, another theorist and exponent of Gandhism is the Deputy Gandhi of the Andhra Province and so on and so forth.

GANDHI, HITLER, MUSSO

It is not my testimony. I am going to give you the testimony of the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the

All-India National Congress that took place at Tripuri. At that time the organisation had developed to a very great extent. I want the people to understand the facts and then come to their own conclusions. This is what Seth Govind Das, the Chairman of the Reception Committee said:

"Our Congress organisation can be compared with the Fascist Party of Italy, the Nazi Party of Germany and the Communist Party of Russia, although they have embraced violence and we are wedded to the creed of non-violence. All the inhabitants of Italy are not Fascists, the entire German public is not Nazi, neither are all Russians Communists; Russians have faith in their respective parties. Every Indian is not a four-anna member of the Congress, yet all Indians are with the Congress. Mahatma Gandhi occupies the same position among Congressmen as that held by Mussolini among Fascists, Hitler among Nazis and Stalin among Communists. The Congress, as at present constituted, is the erection of Mahatma Gandhi."

Now we are repeatedly told by this organisation in India that the Muslim League is a communal organisation. It is the Hindu leaders who have deliberately and with a set purpose destroyed any possible chance of adjustment between these two communities by well-planned and systematic manoeuvres and by organising themselves. And then they call it nationalism, nationalism, democracy," democracy.

I ask you "is this nationalism, is this democracy?" (*Cries of No, No, from all corners.*) When we say "No," we have this experience for the last 25 years and unimpeachable evidence. But we have heard and felt hurt when in vain they say, "You have destroyed it." You talk of Nationalism and Democracy. Either they can't understand or they are dishonest. Don't they understand it when we say that the Parliamentary system of democracy is not suited to the genuis of this country? Surely it is obvious. It is not a question of Democracy as a foundation of popular

representative constitutional Government.

GIVE UP THIS POSE

We have made it clear that there cannot be any room for democracy when you have a nation working on these lines. Not only have we evidence; but we have suffered and experienced that. When you talk of democracy, you are thoroughly dishonest. When you talk of democracy you mean Hindu Raj, to dominate over the Muslims, a totally different nation, different in culture, different in everything. You yourself are working for Hindu Nationalism and Hindu Raj.

Ladies and gentlemen, we learned democracy 1,300 years ago. (Cheers.) It is in our blood and it is as far away from the Hindu Society as are the Arctic regions. (Renewed cheers.) You tell us that we are not democratic. It is we, who have learned the lesson of equality and brotherhood of man. Among you one caste will not take a cup of water from another. Is this democracy? Is this honesty? We are for democracy. But not the democracy of your conception which will turn the whole of India into a Gandhi Ashram (loud cheers), or one society and nation will by its permanent majority destroy another nation or society in permanent minority and all that is dear to the minority.

I give you these facts. I say, give up, give up this pose. You have made your bed. You may lie on it. Have your Hindu Nationalism; have your democracy to your heart's content. Have your Hindustan if you can. I wish you Godspeed. But I am not going, as long as there is life left in a single Mussalman, to have this Hindu Raj. The Irish Nationalist Leader, Redman, met Carson, Ulster leader, and told him "Look here, can't we come to some settlement. Why do you want to separate from Ireland? Mind you, there is not one-millionth part of the differences between

the people of Ulster and Ireland." What was Carson's reply? "I do not want to be ruled by you." My reply to Mr. Gandhi is "I do not want to be ruled by you." (Cheers.)

DECLARE A TRUCE

This is the position. I only appeal, if only my humble voice can reach the Hindu India, I appeal to them, "Give up this pose." You want freedom for the people of this land. I say not only for myself but for Mussalmans: give up what seems a boyhood's dream of some of the Hindu leaders and what has been their manhood's. You have failed. Thank God, you have failed. Let us close that chapter. Even nations who have killed millions of each other—which we have not yet done—who may be the bitterest enemies to-day may become friends to-morrow. That is politics. If your leaders are on this path as I say they are, and if you do not approve of it, it is your responsibility, the responsibility of the Hindu public, to come forward and say "stop this internecine war; declare a truce; let us sit as equals and come to a settlement." That is now the problem. I ask you—I may be wrong—how can you keep on saying that it is the British Government who has kept us apart? How can you go on singing this same song—I am not holding any brief for the British Government (applause). I shall have to say something about them when I come to it.

I am trying to reason with my own people in this land. It serves no useful purpose to say that the British are not wanting an agreement between us. Of course, I grant that the British take advantage of our folly. But we have devices of our own, which are better than any which the British can fashion to keep us disunited. When we have had this notice million times that it was the policy of the British in India to divide and rule, why can't we unite and get the British out? Why can't we do it in spite of them?

Therefore, I say it is no use appealing to other nations of the world. (Applause.)

The different nations of the world can only show us sympathy in our demand to be free and self-governing. They will, of course, do whatever they can. But what is the use of appealing to other nations to settle our affairs? How can anybody do it? Are they going to run the Government here? Are they going to send representatives from America to your Parliament and see that your Parliament is carried on properly? Will any other country send members to your Legislature and see that the Legislature functions properly? If they do, then we will be exactly where we are. It will be your Representatives, it will be your Cabinet that will be functioning. Therefore, I say, that our destiny is in our own hands. Specially when obstacles are put in our way, it is all the more reason why we should come to an agreement in spite of them.

NEHRU'S DOUBLE ROLE

Now we come to the recent events. I do not want to add anything more than our resolution with regard to the proposal that Sir Stafford Cripps brought to India on behalf of His Majesty's Government. Although the final decision of the League was taken after the Allahabad Session, you know the reasons and grounds, and I do not want to take up your time and repeat them. The Cripps' proposals were not acceptable, of course, to us and to the Congress for different reasons. So far as the Congress is concerned, even from his last speech that Mr. Gandhi made, it is clear that he was not only opposed to Pakistan Scheme but considered that it was a sin. He cannot use a stronger word if you know Mr. Gandhi. Mind you, it is not a crime, it is a sin, that is, you will be damned in this world as well as in the next if you talk of Pakistan. While it was given out

that the Cripps' proposals were not acceptable to the Congress—I know nothing of what actually happened between Cripps and Congress—so far as the public are concerned, it was said that the proposals were rejected on the ground, first of veto and then of defence portfolio. Well about the same time when this controversy was going on between Sir Stafford Cripps and the Congress, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in an article sent by wireless to America and which was published in the New York 'Times' of July 19, 1942, says:—

"Thirty years ago the British Government introduced the principle of separate religious electorates in India, a fatal thing which has come in the way of development of political parties. Now they have tried to introduce the idea of partitioning India not only into two but possibly many separate parts. This was one of the reasons which led to bitter resentment of the Cripps' proposals. The All-India Congress could not agree to this."

Was it on the question of veto or was it on the ground of defence portfolio? or was it that the All-India Congress would not agree to any idea of Pakistan. To this country is given one version and to America another! (Applause.) Americans are propagandists themselves. But I think they must realise and fully realise that there are no better propagandists than the Indian National Congress.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Well, after that you come to Individual Civil Disobedience. Not for any political purpose but it was only for the freedom of speech. Now what liberty of speech do you want?—liberty of speech to preach and to advocate in every possible way to prevent war effort? I think even if it was our own Government, if I had any say in the matter, and if an organisation, the most powerful organisation in the country, with all its resources wanted to be let loose to

preach against war effort I would not tolerate it. I would put them in jail. But if it was a conscientious objector I could understand that. How can you expect any Government, much less a foreign Government, to allow this to be carried on? Let us take a common-sense view of it. Was it really intended to vindicate freedom of speech or was it intended not only to prevent war effort but also to embarrass and coerce the British Government to concede their demand? In the meantime Mr Gandhi was saying that he would never launch his Civil Disobedience movement, because it would be suicidal. But mind you, Mr. Gandhi said, he was never going to launch Civil Disobedience movement because it would be against the wishes of the Muslim League. He had been saying, for the last 22 years that he lived for Hindu Muslim unity and that it was the sole aim of his life, and without Hindu-Muslim unity they could never achieve freedom. In July last year when he struck upon a new technique, an entirely new technique, it was not then suicidal to ignore the Muslim League and whether the Muslim League comes in or not. He revised his declarations of 22 years that there could be no Swaraj, no freedom without Hindu-Muslim unity. It is all thrown to the wind suddenly, when Mr. Gandhi lays down the policy and programme in the famous resolution of 8th August. What is it? "Quit India". Look at the enormity! Don't care, don't care what these 100 million people of this country have to say! I am going to bend this Government to surrender to my desire! The British said—and mind you, I don't take everything they say to be correct—they said: "In resisting the Congress we are really protecting you and safeguarding your interests, because if we were to surrender to the demands of the Congress it would be at your risk and sacrifice." But, the Mussalmans say: "We don't believe that you love us so much." We know it suits them and they are taking the fullest advantage of the

situation, because if there is any agreement between Hindus and Muslims then they know the net result of that would be parting with power. They say they are too anxious to part with power but we do not agree in uniting. If we cannot secure power as a United India then let us take it as divided India. (Cheers.)

COCKPIT OF FEUD

Now let me tell you, ladies and gentlemen, and here I tell you, if my humble voice reaches the Hindu public, to carefully consider whether I am right or wrong. I will put it as frankly as possible. The British policy in this sub-continent has been for nearly 100 years based on their conviction that the Muslims and Hindus will never agree and if by some means or other they enter into an agreement by their influence or pressure then it will be nothing but a cockpit of feud beneath the umbrella of United India with the Englishman on the top. Therefore the Britisher, with his far-sighted vision has followed a policy and taken us on this line of united democratic India—I don't think they have given it up yet—the line of United India and democratic parliamentary system of Government. The Britishers know that if we are kept on that line and are allowed to frame a constitution as a democratically united India we would never come to an agreement without their arbitration; it is the only way to prolong their lease of supremacy. When you have quarrelled and broken each other's heads then the monkey will come in to do justice between two cats. (Laughter.) That is the reason why there being a strong diehard British school of thought our friends who happen to be at the head of the Government of India to-day—the great man Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy and Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India—who are *pucca* diehard brand, are still dangling the carrot before the donkey by

saying that geographically India is one. The other great man in London has suddenly discovered that historically India was united under Akbar. (Laughter.)

My friends, I have no ill-will against the Hindus. I want you to know if by any miracle you can come to a constitutionally united democratic India. We can only do so, so far as the British India is concerned.

WAY TO FREEDOM

Let me tell you that the Britishers know that we will have to get over another hurdle—the biggest hurdle—namely, the Indian States. You will find so many hurdles—1, 2, 3 and 4. You are asked to get over these hurdles and the last hurdle is the most difficult one to get over. You may think as much as you like. The policy that the British Government have pursued for nearly 100 years leads to this. Not only they have somehow or other made you miss the bus: but they have put you in the wrong bus. (Laughter.) Now do not allow yourselves to be bamboozled and fooled any longer. It is nearly a century. I say to the Hindus—and the Britishers know it better than anybody else—that the quickest way for the freedom of the peoples, both Hindus and Muslims, is Pakistan. (Cheers.) It may come in my life-time or not (cries heard from all corners: 'It will, it will') you will remember these words of mine. I say this with no ill-will or offence. Some nations have killed millions of each other. That is not permanent. An enemy of to-day is a friend of to-morrow. That is life. That is history.

So I say this, with a clear conscience. My profound regret is that it is the Congress and its Hindu leadership that are holding up the achievement of freedom of both the Hindus and Mussalmans. Our conscience is clear. I appeal to the Hindu public and Hindu leaders: Review, revise

your policy. Lot of propaganda, false propaganda, is being carried on by the Congress.

Most of it is bv the Communist Party at present. The appeals and statements they have published are fundamentally wrong. The Congress position has been this from the start up to August 8—that the policy and demand for Pakistan is untruth. In his correspondence with the Viceroy Mr. Gandhi had forgotten to mention this point altogether, and hence he puts this in postscript. "The Government have evidently ignored or overlooked the very material fact that the Congress by its August resolution asked nothing for itself. All its demands were for the whole. As you should be aware the Congress was willing and prepared for the Government inviting Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah to form a National Government subject to such agreed adjustments as may be necessary for the duration of the war, such Government being responsible to a duly elected assembly."

AM I WRONG?

This is Mr. Gandhi's language. The whole crux of this proposal is that he wants such a Government as will be responsible to a duly elected assembly. I ask you: what is left if this is carried out? Is there any doubt that Lord Linlithgow will be immediately turned into a constitutional Governor-General or he might get a kick. The India Office will be abolished; the office of the Secretary of State will be abolished and the British Parliament will have no say in India. This central constitution can only be brought into effect by repealing the present Constitution and substituting another. If I am wrong I shall stand corrected. Once the present central foundation is gone the surrounding provincial structure cannot last. What about the provinces? Are they to remain under

the Governors? Are they to remain under the present Constitution? Therefore you must overhaul, repeal the present Constitution and undertake framing of an entirely new Constitution for the whole of India including Indian States. We are asked: What is wrong in that? Pakistan is only to be postponed. The answer is that the moment you accept and undertake this position on the basis of Mr. Gandhi's proposal, Pakistan demand is torpedoed by our consent and the framing of a new constitution on the lines suggested by Mr. Gandhi would lead to the bitterest controversies if any such attempt were made—to say nothing about who was to be authorised to frame such a constitution. Therefore the position of the Congress is exactly the same as ever. Only it is put in different words and in different language but it means Hindu Raj-Akhand Hindustan basis —the position which we can never accept.

MR. GANDHI AND SETTLEMENT

Nobody would welcome it more than myself if Mr. Gandhi is even now really willing to come to a settlement with the Muslim League on the basis of Pakistan. Let me tell you that it will be the greatest day both for the Hindus and Mussalmans. If he has made up his mind, what is there to prevent Mr. Gandhi from writing direct to me? (Cheers.) He is writing letters to the Viceroy. Why does he not write to me direct? Who is there that can prevent him from doing so? What is the use of going to the Viceroy and leading deputation and carry on correspondence. Who is to prevent Mr. Gandhi to-day? I cannot believe for a single moment—strong as this Government may be in this country—you may say anything you like against this Government—I cannot believe that they will have the daring to stop such a letter if it is sent to me. (Loud cheers and applause.)

It will be a very serious thing, indeed, if such a thing is done by the Government. But I do not see evidence of any kind of change of policy on the part of Mr. Gandhi or Congress or the Hindu leadership.

I am told that we should do something. As far as my information goes, there is no change. What are we to do? When I was invited to the so-called no-party conference I said to Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar that I did not want to attend the conference and I gave my reasons for it. I do not want to attack them in any way. I do not want to create any unnecessary bitterness. We know, of course, that they have no following—but they are men who occupy some position in life, men who have some experience—maybe, they are our political opponents. But once they were in the forefront, in the vanguard of the political movement in the country—these gentlemen could have adopted a more effective method of tackling this question than the resolution they passed and the procedure they adopted. But great men also make mistakes. Mr. Gandhi gets all the information, all the newspapers and knows and understands what is going on. If there is any change of heart on his part he has only to drop me a few lines, when, I assure you, the Muslim League will not fail, whatever may have been our controversies in the past. (Tremendous applause and cheers.)

"THE HARDEST NUT"

Now I come to the Britishers. They are the hardest nut to crack. What is their position? Their position is this. The Congress is a rebel organisation. It is guilty of high treason. They are the enemies of the Government and the Crown. Therefore no truck with them. They are only one party. But the overwhelming majority of the people of India are not with the Congress; but are with the British Government. What do the recent statements of the

Premier say? What does the press in London say? The 'Sunday Chronicle' in a leader says: "Prime Minister Churchill's message praising the gallantry of the Indian soldiers will find an echo in the heart of the British nation." Where is the echo? Mr. Churchill went into mathematical figures and he made out that the overwhelming majority of the people of India were not with the Congress. So far as the Muslim League is concerned there is not the slightest doubt, we have kept aloof and, thank God, we have kept aloof because we are between the devil and the deep sea. As I said earlier, I am not satisfied with the British who say that they are fighting the Congress to protect us and the interests of the minorities. They say they are ready and willing and in fact are dying to part with power. The Viceroy made such reference during the Christmas week at Calcutta. Having declared the Congress as an outlaw what do the British say to others. They say: "How can we ignore Congress?" In that case, don't you see that not only is anybody going to believe you; but by your own admission, you are proclaiming that your anxiety, your desire, your ardent desire to move in the direction of handing over power provisionally, has been successfully held up by a rebel organisation—the Congress. It is a confession of failure on their part. Either the people of India are at the back of the Congress or they are not. If the overwhelming majority are not—as the 100 million Mussalmans are certainly not—then what is the answer to the rest of India. They say, "We can't do anything because this rebel organisation has paralysed us. We can only praise your services when you die on the battlefield and no more." Is this an honest attitude?

From this attitude can anyone believe that there is real honest desire to transfer power? Times out of number we have made it clear. But we are ignored; our party is ignored because it suits them. We are, on the contrary, accused of not helping the war effort and we are very often

threatened by this very Government that "those who are not with us are against us." Now I say, ladies and gentlemen, so far as the Muslim India is concerned, so far as we, the Mussalmans are concerned, our cup of bitterness is reaching the brimful.

If they have got any honest and capable agents they ought to be kept informed in London. I once more draw the attention of the British Government to this fact. It is a very serious situation indeed and I inform them from this platform that the cup of bitterness, disappointment—not to use any stronger language—at the shabby treatment meted out to Muslim India is a danger to them. (Cheers.) You cannot continue like this. Therefore reconsider your position. What is our demand? Make a declaration. The Muslim League calls upon the British Government to come forward without any further delay with an unequivocal declaration guaranteeing to the Mussalmans the right of self-determination and to pledge themselves that they will abide by a verdict of plebiscite on the lines of the resolution passed at the Muslim League sessions in Lahore in 1940.

ATTITUDE TO WAR

The Muslim League has been ready and are still ready and willing to consider any proposals and negotiate with any party on a footing of equality for the setting up of a provisional Government at the Centre in order to mobilise the resources of the country for the purpose of defence of India and the successful prosecution of the war. This resolution was passed at Bombay on August 20, 1942. That has been so far completely ignored. Now we are, in this war, kept in the position of mere spectators. I have said it once and I say it again on this occasion that whatever may be our views and opinions, there is not the slightest doubt that—a fact is a fact—India is in the war. Being in the

war, whose interest is greater now? Is it more in the interest of the Britisher or is it in the interest of the United Nations who are in it like America or is it more in our interests that we should not be reduced to mere helpless spectators by one device or other, by one manœuvre or the other, by one excuse or the other and keep the 100 millions as they are to carry on without their co-operation? They are making a great mistake. They are not out of wood yet. Let me tell you as I have said very often: Our American friends can go to New York or Chicago if they are beaten and the British can go to London. And further I can say that their country is not going to be ruled by Hitler or Mussolini or Mikado. That, to my mind, is inconceivable. It may happen that America may be reduced to a second-rate power after the war. That is the danger. But their danger does not go to the length that their country would be ruled by any other foreign power. What is my position? It is this. If this war is lost there is no other power. Either Japan or Hitler will come to this country and we will come under the jackboot of Hitler or Tojo. I have no Chicago or London to go to. What about us? Who is more interested to defend this country and prosecute this war—it is not a sentimental thing—I say, nobody more than we. (Cheers.) It is we who will suffer the ravages of war and destruction and emasculation of our homes and hearths in Muslim zones on the east and west which are the immediate targets of the enemy. Who is more likely to lose, who is more likely to suffer than we? Who is more interested in defending India? It is thoroughly dishonest for the British to say that we are non-co-operating and it is more dishonest to say that we are not co-operating. The Muslim League says, "We cannot co-operate because you want us to come in as mere camp-followers. What are the prospects for us? What will

be the fruit of victory for us, when we have given our money, our blood and everything? If we are defeated Japan or Germany will come. If we win we are just camp-followers and may get a *bakhsheesh* in the end. Is this an incentive to co-operation? Can any honourable, self-respecting or organised nation accept that position? (Cries of No, No.) That is the picture. Therefore either they have blundered and are blundering or really they do not want to part with power. They are taking the chance as a gambler does, saying to themselves: "*If we win, we will* keep them where they are. If we lose then after us the deluge!" "apres moi's L' deluge."

BRITISHERS AND PAKISTAN

I do not want to say anything more about Pakistan. There is no difficulty in understanding Pakistan. Even outsiders have understood it. Again it reminded me of Gokhale when Major Yeats Brown in his new book says: "Let us put ourselves in Muslim slippers." Here is the passage from his book:

"Let us put ourselves in Muslim slippers. We British would consider ourselves aggrieved if some world-improving superman or super-Government were to decree that we should be ruled by an All-Europe Government (no doubt with safeguards) with Teutons as the dominant race—or Slavs if you prefer—because we were a minority in Europe."

Then he says further: "Even if this super-Government consisted of supermen of infinite strength and wisdom, we should submit to it only just so long as we had not the strength to throw off the shackles. And if the supermen showed signs of doubting their own decisions, yet continued to asseverate before the world that they had offered freedom to all Europe, that it was now incumbent on us to find a solution to the difficulty, we

should reply as the Muslim League has that such freedom was a farce."

May I add here that Mr. Gandhi, the "superman" precisely wants Akhand Hindustan and Muslim India cannot and will not agree to this demand. What would the Englishman say? Will he then say: "Smaller nations cannot exist. We are in a small island; only 35 million people. They are Teuton brothers. The Germans are 80 million." If a proposal was made that they should have one Government would the Englishman agree? What is the difference between an Englishman and a German? To begin with they are of the Anglo-Saxon race and all Christians. Their dress is not different. Their calendar is not different. Their language and jurisprudence and culture are not very much different. Their architecture, art and music and civilisation are not different. But what would an Englishman say? What would Canada say, if to-morrow a proposal was made that Canada and United States should become one federated Government and Canada to become one of the units? Then what about others—North America and South America? America is geographically one. So is Europe. So is Asia. What would they say if such a proposition were made? Therefore Major Yeats Brown says very rightly "Put yourselves into Muslim slippers." Even if the Government consisted of supermen of infinite strength and wisdom we should not submit to it just as long as we do not have the strength to throw off the shackles. The Muslim League would however consider such a freedom as a farce. (Cheers and applause.)

PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT

This is what is required to be considered by the Hindu leaders. The freedom they are offering to us is

the freedom of their conception, the freedom of their determination, the freedom of their rule which is a farce. (Cheers.) Well therefore there is no difficulty in understanding. First of all we have got to settle the basis. Do you want to really create some confusion and get some material for the purpose of propaganda? I have no doubt in my mind that a large body of us visualise Pakistan as People's Government. Either you seize it by force or get it by agreement. But until you get it whether it is from a foreign nation or whether it is our own Government, the question as to the constitution and the form and system of a Government does not arise. Let us take the revolution of France. The party that wanted to break the Government had to have a Constituent Assembly after they seized the country. Take the case of Australia, that happened by agreement. Let us first agree that there shall be two Indias. Then the constitution-making body will be elected by some system from the people who will choose their representatives to go to the constitution-making body. Therefore, I visualise that a constitution-making body, based on a very low franchise, will be set up. It may be two annas, or it may be an adult franchise in Pakistan. You will elect your representatives to the constitution-making body. You may not know your power, you may not know how to use it. This would be your fault. But I am sure that democracy is in our blood. It is in our marrows. Only centuries of adverse circumstances have made the circulation of that blood cold. It has got frozen and your arteries have not been functioning. But, thank God, the blood is circulating again, thanks to the Muslim League efforts. It will be a people's Government. Here I should like to give a warning to the landlords and capitalists who have flourished at our expense by a system which is so vicious, which is so wicked and which makes them so selfish that it is difficult to reason with them. (Tremendous applause). The exploitation

of the masses has gone into their blood. They have forgotten the lessons of Islam. Greed and selfishness have made these people subordinate to the interests of others in order to fatten themselves. It is true we are not in power to-day. You go anywhere to the countryside. I have visited villages. There are millions and millions of our people who hardly get one meal a day. Is this civilisation? Is this the aim of Pakistan? (Cries of no, no.) Do you visualise that millions have been exploited and cannot get one meal a day? If that is the idea of Pakistan I would not have it. (Cheers.) If they are wise they will have to adjust themselves to the new modern conditions of life. If they don't, God help them; we shall not help them. (Hear, hear, renewed cheers and applause.) Therefore let us have faith in ourselves. Let us not falter or hesitate. That is our goal. We are going to achieve it. (Cheers.) The constitution of Pakistan can only be framed by the Millat and the people. Prepare yourselves and see that you frame a constitution which is to your heart's desire. There is a lot of misunderstanding. A lot of mischief is created. Is it going to be an Islamic Government? Is it not begging the question? Is it not a question of passing a vote of censure on yourself? The constitution and the Government will be what the people will decide. The only question is that of minorities.

MINORITIES' PLEA

The minorities are entitled to get a definite assurance and ask: "Where do we stand in the Pakistan that you visualise?" That is an issue of giving a definite and clear assurance to the minorities. We have done it. We have passed a resolution that the minorities must be protected and safeguarded to the fullest extent and as I said before any civilised Government will do it and ought to do it. So far

as we are concerned our own history, our Prophet have given the clearest proof that non-Muslims have been treated not only justly and fairly but generously. (Cheers and applause.)

ORIGIN OF PAKISTAN

Now one more thing I wish to say about Pakistan is this. There is a new propaganda. We had many wicked propagandas like the one cutting the *mother cow into* two, vivisection of mother India and all the rest. The latest argument I think is really very wicked, the most wicked of all. The argument is this: Mr. Jinnah is working for the territories in the North-West and East zones as "Pak" and the others "Na-Pak." I have heard this from several quarters—and I was thunderstruck. You know what false propaganda can do. I think you will bear me out that when we passed the Lahore resolution we had not used the word "Pakistan." Who gave us this word? (Cries of "Hindus"). Let me tell you it is their fault. They started damning this resolution on the ground that it was Pakistan. They are really ignorant of the Muslim movement. They fathered this word upon us. "Give the dog a bad name and then hang him." They shouted Pan-Islamism. When this was exploded then came the cry that "Pakistan" means alliance with other Muslim countries—Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran and Turkey—and they will grind down Hindu India! That is the deep game they are playing. You know perfectly well that Pakistan is a word which is really foisted upon us and fathered on us by some sections of the Hindu press and also by the British press. Now our resolution was known for a long time as the Lahore resolution, popularly known as Pakistan. But how long are we to have this long phrase? Now I say to my Hindu and British friends. We thank you for giving us

one word. (Applause, and cries of hear, hear.)

What is the origin of the word Pakistan? It was not Muslim League or Qaid-i-Azam who coined it. Some young fellows in London, who wanted a particular part of north-west to be separated from the rest of India, coined a name in 1929-30, started the idea, and called a zone Pakistan. They picked up the letter P for Punjab, A for Afghan, as the N.W.F.P. is known even to-day as Afghan, K for Kashmir, S. for Sind, and Tan for Baluchistan. A name was coined. Thus, whatever may have been the meaning of this word at the time it is obvious that language of every civilised country invents new words. The word Pakistan has come to mean Lahore resolution. We wanted a word and it was foisted on us and we found it convenient to use it as a synonym for Lahore resolution.

LOOSE FEDERATION

We are told by some constitutional Pandits, why can't there be some sort of loose federation or confederation. People talk like that. I shall read out to you what I have written on this point because it is important :—

There are people who talk of some sort of a loose Federation. There are people who talk of giving the widest freedom to the federating units and residuary powers resting with the units. But they forget the entire constitutional history of the various parts of the world. Federation, however described and in whatever terms it is put, must ultimately deprive the federating units of the authority in all vital matters. The units, despite themselves, would be compelled to grant more and more powers to the central authority, until in the end a strong Central Government will have been established by the units themselves and they will be driven to do so by absolute necessity, if the basis of a Federal Government is accepted. Taking for instance

the United States and her history, the Dominions of Canada and Australia, the Union of South Africa and Germany and of other lands where federal or confederal systems have been in existence, necessity has driven the component members and obliged them to increase and delegate their power and authority to the connecting link, namely, the Central Government.

These ideas are based entirely on a wrong footing, due to want of correct understanding as to what really Federation means or implies. It is not of much importance whether the units in theory have the residuary powers or the Centre. But once the units accept the basis of a Federal Central Government it follows that it will inevitably and out of sheer necessity resolve itself into an all-powerful Central Authority and the units will be compelled to grant and delegate more and more powers to the Centre, which also can hold these units as connecting links, more or less like a county council or glorified municipalities or feudatory states under the central authority.

We are opposed to any scheme, nor can we agree to any proposal, which has for its basis any conception or idea of a Central Government—Federal or Confederal—for it is bound to lead in the long run to the emasculation of the economically entire Muslim nation, socially, educationally, culturally, or politically and to the establishment of the Hindu majority raj in this sub-continent.

Therefore, remove from your mind any idea of some form of such loose federation. There is no such thing as loose federation. When there is Central Government and Provincial Governments they will go on tightening, tightening, and tightening until you are pulverised with regard to your powers as units.

ANTI-INDIAN LEGISLATION

Well, gentlemen, I think I have exhausted most of the points. There can be no doubt that the recent communal Indian Legislation in South Africa is the blackest of the black. It is a pity that it should have been undertaken at this critical moment when, on the one hand, every unit of the empire is asked to contribute to the war effort and Indians were considered good enough to shed their blood and to stand side by side with white men or even to pick them up when they have fallen on the battlefield to save their lives. But on the other hand, this badge of the horrible colour bar is the reward for one of the members of the commonwealth who is contributing its share in blood which is acknowledged and praised duly.

I am astonished that the Secretary of State for India, when he was asked in the Parliament, should say that he had no statement to make. While the whole of India was condemning this bill, including even the Government of India, which is an agent of the British Government, can we not learn a lesson from this with regard to our internal political controversies ?

INDIAN STATES

There is one other point. Recently another unfortunate thing has come to my notice. Things are not at all well in Indian States. I shall name only some of the States, Kashmir, Gwalior and Kotah. It seems to me that it is most unfortunate and I appeal to those States, where the Hindus are in the majority and where there is real Hindu power, to set a better example. Similarly I shall advise those Muslim Rulers where the Musalmans are in the majority that they should treat the minority fairly and deal with their legitimate grievances suitably. It is not the way

we will deal with the problem of India that wherever you happen to be in the majority you should wreak your vengeance or bitterness over the minority; you would be nearer the solution of the problem if you protect the minority. I hope that some satisfactory solution will be arrived at. I shall be equally grieved if the Muslim majorities ill-treat the Hindu minorities.

DECISIVE FACTOR

There remains finally one thing. I say to the Musalmans, we have gone nearly seven years through various vicissitudes and we have reached the stage where there is not the slightest doubt, that the 100 million Musalmans are with us. When I say 100 million Musalmans, I mean that 99 per cent of them are with us—leaving aside some who are traitors, cranks, supermen or lunatics, an evil from which no society or nation is free. The way in which I see them now is that the phœnix-like rise and regeneration of Muslim India from the very ashes of its ruination after the terrible destructions in India in the 18th and the 19th centuries is a miracle (Cheers). The people who had lost everything and who were placed by Providence between the two stones of a mill not only came to its own in a very short time but became, after the British, socially the most solid, militarily the most virile, and politically the most decisive factor in modern India. (Loud cheers.)

MARCH FORWARD

Now it is time to take up the constructive programme to build up this nation, so that it can march on the path of our goal of Pakistan. It is for you all to put your heads together, your Council of the All-India Muslim League, and undertake proper and systematic planning. I can

only repeat once again, for educational uplift, social uplift, economic uplift, political uplift and cultural uplift of the nation. We as a nation have got to attempt this constructive programme. I hope you will be able to do it. In the meantime I will only conclude by saying : The goal is near, stand united, persevere and march forward. (Loud and prolonged cheers, and cries of "Qaid-i-Azam Zindabad," "Pakistan Zindabad," "Muslim League Zindabad," etc.)

Statement on British Press reactions to his Speech, issued from Delhi, May 3, 1943.

I have noticed some of the extracts from British Press giving their reactions to the Muslim League session held here recently. It is clear they have based their comments and criticisms on the scrappy reports sent to them by their representatives ; nevertheless, it is really a matter of regret that newspapers in Great Britain headed by the "Times" have taken the situation very lightly.

The Viceroy is busy in India expanding his contracted Council and persisting in a move which has been a complete failure. I only wish it were possible for the editors of the newspapers in Great Britain to read the full text of my speech and our resolutions. Then they would realise that their comments were not only out of place, but were in utter ignorance of the real situation in India.

The present policy of the British Government in ignoring everybody is not the way to win this war, and the sooner this fact is realised the betrer for everyone. If we lose this war, it will be due to the blundering policy of the British Government followed in this country. The food situation, the economic position, the handling of finance and currency in this country has reached the most acute

state, and the complacent attitude adopted in regard to these matters is bound to create an unparalleled danger to the total effort, which is so essential to winning this war.

The position of the Muslim League is that of realism, and I am rather surprised that newspapers in Great Britain should have indulged in hackneyed phrases such as "party tactics" and "playing to the gallery." It only shows how badly Britain is informed about the situation in India.

Statement on Government communique regarding Mr. Gandhi's letter, Bombay, May 28, 1943.

I have received a communication from the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated May 24, that Mr. Gandhi's letter merely expresses a wish to meet me, and this letter, Government have decided, cannot be forwarded to me.

This letter of Mr. Gandhi can only be construed as a move on his part to embroil the Muslim League to come into clash with the British Government solely for the purpose of helping his release, so that he would be free to do what he pleases thereafter.

There is really no change of policy on the part of Mr. Gandhi and no genuine desire to meet the suggestions that I made in my speech during the session of the All-India Muslim League at Delhi. Although I have always been ready and willing to meet Mr. Gandhi or any other Hindu leader and shall be still glad to meet him, yet merely expressing his desire to meet me is not the kind of ephemeral letter that I suggested in my speech that Mr. Gandhi should write, and which has been now stopped by the Government.

NO CHANGE OF HEART

My speech was directed to meet the appeals that were made to me and are now being made by Hindu leaders, that the Muslim League should do something towards the solution of the deadlock, and my suggestions about the kind of letter that Mr. Gandhi should write were in response to those appeals, when I said that I myself saw no change of heart. There was no evidence of any change of policy on the part of Mr. Gandhi or Hindu leadership, and I referred to the recent correspondence that had passed between Mr. Gandhi and the Viceroy, which, on the contrary, showed that Mr. Gandhi fully maintained his stand of August 8, 1942.

But, nevertheless, some of the responsible Hindu leaders pressed upon me that Mr. Gandhi has now realised that he had made a mistake and that he would be prepared to consider and retrace his step if he were given an opportunity to do so, and that he had changed his attitude towards Pakistan and would be willing to come to a settlement on the basis of Pakistan, but the British Government were preventing the Hindu-Muslim settlement by refusing people of position and standing to establish contact with him for this purpose. I, therefore, suggested that if Mr. Gandhi were to write to me a letter indicating that he was prepared to retrace his steps and abandon his policy and programme culminating in the resolution of the A. I. C. C. of August 8, and was even now willing to come to a settlement with the Muslim League on the basis of Pakistan, we were willing to bury the past and forget it. I still believe that the Government will not dare to stop such a letter if it came from Mr. Gandhi.

I regret that the Congress Press, as usual, is indulging in cheap gibes and slogans based on the publication of isolated passages from my speech and even those are mutilated and

important words are eliminated from them. This may serve as misleading and inimical propaganda but is not calculated to create a friendly atmosphere, which is essential. In my opinion the press and those who are indulging in various thoughtless statements are doing great disservice.

Statement at a Press Conference at Karachi, June 4, 1943.

The position he had taken up following the refusal of the Government of India to forward to him Mr. Gandhi's letter was explained at a Press Conference at Karachi by Mr. Jinnah.

Mr. Jinnah pointed out that ever since the Congress resolution of 8th August last he had repeatedly stated that the Congress decision was not a rebellion against the British Government only but an internecine war, a declaration of war against the Muslim League and Muslim India, and that, unless the Congress dropped its pistol, there was no chance of a settlement. "What is the Congress resolution of 8th August," asked Mr. Jinnah and said, "It lays down a demand for immediate independence, that a National Provisional Government should be set up and a Federal All-India Constitution should be framed, that the British Government should quit India, and that the National Government would frame the constitution, and that if this demand was not conceded the Congress had decided to launch Civil Disobedience. If such a demand was accepted it would be destructive to the Muslim demand for Pakistan.

Reading passages from his address before the Muslim League in April, Mr. Jinnah maintained that the letter sent by Mr. Gandhi was not the kind of letter he had envisaged

when he had stated that "the Government would not have the daring to stop such a letter" and that the position would be very serious, indeed, if they did so.

Mr. Jinnah complained that his April speech had been twisted so completely by a section of the press and by some statements issued thereafter as to make one feel that the organised Hindu press will not give a fair chance or a fair deal to any one who does not surrender completely to the wishes of the Congress and of Mr. Gandhi. If you want to black it out you may do so, said Mr. Jinnah, but my position is as clear as day-light.

At least two Hindus, continued Mr. Jinnah, had the frankness to appreciate his point of view. They were Mr. P. C. Joshi, Secretary of the All-India Communist Party, who had pointed out that Mr. Gandhi's letter had left a loophole by not indicating whether he was going to meet the Muslim League point of view and Mr. C. Rajagopalacharia who in his recent statement had conceded that his (Mr. Jinnah's) offer had not been accepted and, therefore, ordinarily it would lapse—although with due respects to Mr. Rajagopalacharia Mr. Jinnah did not see the distinction the latter had drawn between national and other affairs.

Replying to a questioner who suggested that Mr. Jinnah could not have known the full contents of Mr. Gandhi's letter, Mr. Jinnah said that apparently Mr. Gandhi had merely expressed a desire to meet him and nothing more, At present I have no reason to doubt this information, said Mr. Jinnah.

Mr. Jinnah's replies to further questions on the subject of seeking a Congress-League agreement did not go beyond what he had stated in his initial statement and a correspondent asked, "Does it mean that the deadlock must continue as long as the war lasts?" To this Mr. Jinnah only replied with a gesture indicative of helplessness so far as he

was concerned.

Mr. Jinnah told another correspondent that the question about a certain prominent Sind Muslim Leaguer having accepted a position in the National War Front at an honorarium of Rs. 1,000 a month was nobody's affair but that of the Muslim League.

Asked to say something regarding the reported statement of the Premier of the Punjab that the Sikander-Jinnah pact was still in force, Mr. Jinnah said that it is a question which concerned the Punjab and the Muslim League. "Why do you bother about it?" and many things that are reported in the press are not always correct.

When more questions concerning Mr. Gandhi's letter were put to him Mr. Jinnah said, "I am not here to accuse Mr. Gandhi at the moment. I am concerned just now only to meet the misrepresentation of my speech at Delhi."

He also said: I do not want to make things more bitter and follow the example of the twisted mentality of a section of the Hindu press. I am, therefore, refraining from saying things which I might otherwise have said.

Speech at the Baluchistan Muslim League Conference, July 3, 1943.

In a few years we have made the Muslims of India, who were a crowd, a nation. They were a scattered mass, disorganised and apathetic. The Muslim League has electrified and moved them from their stupor and knit them together. We have gone through the process of nationalisation and now we have one flag, one platform and one voice.

Thus declared Mr. M. A. Jinnah, inaugurating the third session of the Baluchistan Muslim League, Qazi Mohammad

Isa presiding.

The session was held in beautiful surroundings at the foot of a hill in a tastefully decorated pandal. The audience which included all the notables of the city numbered about 25,000 on the day of the commencement.

Mr. Jinnah referred to the remarkable progress made by the Muslim League since 1937 and more particularly after the adoption of the Pakistan ideal in 1940.

He said: We have now Muslim League Ministries in all the Muslim majority provinces—Bengal, the Punjab, Sind and N. W. F. Province—all engaged in social reforms and cultural and economic uplift. In Assam also the Ministry is dominated by the Muslim League. Never before in the history of India were the Muslims so well organised. But our journey has just begun.

Proceeding, Mr. Jinnah exhorted the Muslims of Baluchistan to shake off their lethargy and march in line with their nation. The Muslim League, he pointed out, was now growing stronger and stronger in their province also. This awakening of the people was the first foundation of nationalism. It is great to awaken a nation, greater to organise it and still greater to die for it. So get prepared and line yourselves up with the other provinces. Give up your mutual jealousies and sectional interests and differences over small things, petty quarrels and tribal notions. If you do it, Baluchistan is sure to make progress and occupy a respectful place in India.

ADVICE TO NAWABS

Calling upon the Nawabs of Baluchistan to read the signs of the time, Mr. Jinnah said: Consider the present and the future. Show signs of your life. We ask you to realise your responsibility because you are in the position of natural leaders—realise your duty to your people.

Awaken them and come into line with your nation.

Referring to the present administration of Baluchistan, Mr. Jinnah observed that it was high time that reforms were introduced in the province and the support of the people enlisted. The present administration, he regretted, was responsible for the criminal neglect of education. No civic progress had been made, nor any local self-government given to the people even in a place like Quetta. Cities far backward than Quetta had elected Municipalities and Local Boards.

I am going to make a full report on this subject to the Central Assembly Muslim League Party.

But these difficulties, he said, must not discourage the people of Baluchistan. They must organise themselves and come under the banner of the Muslim League. The Muslims of all other provinces had joined the League and made it a powerful organisation. The Congress had been adopting subtle tactics to create rifts amongst the Muslims and had failed. But he asked, "When we do not want to corrupt the Hindus and create disruption amongst them then why do they not stop it? We want them to be constructive. Congressmen, give up your unscrupulous methods. You cannot build on falsehood and corruption.

Undeterred by the disruptionist tactics of their opponents, Mr. Jinnah concluded, Muslims must go ahead to win their ideal of Pakistan. The minorities need have no fear of it. We will create by justice a sense of security and confidence in them.

Speech at the second sitting of the Baluchistan Muslim League Conference, July 4, 1943.

After the resolutions had been passed an historic sword, which was announced to have been wielded in several

battles in defence of Islam, was presented to Mr. Jinnah.

Accepting the present Mr. Jinnah expressed pleasure at the awakening amongst the Baluchis.

Your resolutions show, he said, that you have begun to understand your difficulties and liabilities. You were in absolute darkness. The Muslim League has brought light to you and you, whose thinking power had ceased for centuries along with that of the other Muslims of India, have been made aware of the full facts. If you, one and all, gather under the League flag, you will not only get over your own restrictions but will be a source of real power to Muslim India. This flag would give you protection and power.

Referring to the sword presented to him he said: It will rise only in defence. But for the present the most important thing is education. Knowledge is a greater force than sword. Go and acquire it. I know if the time comes we will sacrifice our life and all but first get equipped. We do not want you to die in vain. The second important thing is trade and commerce. So long as a nation is weak economically it cannot hope to win the battle of life. So organize and raise economic life. When you have done it successfully then comes sword which we have been wielding for the last thirteen centuries.

ADVICE TO STUDENTS

Do not participate in active politics so long as you are students. Do not run after cheap slogans or catchwords. Concentrate your whole attention on education. Get equipped and qualify yourself for action. That is your first duty to your own self, your parents and above all to your nation. The better you are equipped the brighter are your chances of success.

This advice was given by Mr. Jinnah to the students of

Baluchistan who assembled this morning under the auspices of the Baluchistan Muslim Students Federation to present a welcome address to him.

Mr. Jinnah added : A part of your education is to study the current events, the forces and the movements in India and the world. I ask you, to study the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League, your national organisation.

Exhorting the students to kick out their age-old lethargy Mr. Jinnah said : Your land has got a *history*. *It has gone* through many *vicissitudes* but you have lived more or less on the same lines for several centuries. You were quite indifferent to what was happening next door or even immediately around you. You moved in your own world, remote and cut off from the rest. This was centuries back and even today if you look on Baluchistan you will see that you have not made any real progress.

Special Message, conveyed through Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan Sahib, to the Muslims of North-West Frontier Province on the eve of the by-elections to the Provincial Assembly, July 20, 1943.

All Muslim India's eyes are today towards you. *If you* fail in duty you will shock all the Musalmans of India. The Musalmans of India have great faith and hopes in you and believe that you will be unconquerable soldiers of Islam like your unconquerable rocks and through you Islam in India will be able to revive the glorious past.

Statement of Mr. Jinnah and his Secretary on the dastardly attack made on the life of Mr. Jinnah, July 26, 1943.

[All Muslim India and in fact every right thinking man in India was stunned by the shocking news of the treacherous and cowardly attack made on the life of Qaid-i-Azam Jinnah by a miscreant from Lahore. The feeling of horror was, however, somewhat relieved by the news received immediately after, that Qaid-i-Azam's life had been saved and he had escaped without serious injuries.

The diabolical attack evoked universal condemnation and was viewed with the deepest abhorrence and indignation by everybody in India and abroad.

The incident drew the Muslims closer to Mr. Jinnah and further strengthened the ties of affection, loyalty and attachment which bind the Muslims of India to their great leader.

The feelings of relief and gratefulness surging in the hearts of Muslims found expression on the 13th August 1943 which they celebrated throughout India as a day of Thanksgiving to God for sparing the life of one who symbolises their most cherished hopes and aspirations.]

MR. JINNAH'S STATEMENT

In an interview to the "Associated Press" Mr. Jinnah said: "Although it was a serious and well-planned attack, by the grace of God, no serious injury has been inflicted on me. I don't want to say anything just now but I appeal to the Muslims to remain calm and cool and let us all thank Providence for this miraculous escape. I regret that this cowardly assault should have been made on me by a man who, I understand, is a Muslim."

SECRETARY'S VERSION

Mr. Syed, Mr. Jinnah's Secretary, who was the only outsider present at the time when Mr. Jinnah was attacked, gave the 'Associated Press' the following account of the attempt on Mr. Jinnah's life.

Mohammad Rafiq, stated to be a Khaksar, came to Mr. Jinnah's residence at about 1-30 p.m. to-day. The Pathan watchman asked the visitor who he was and what he wanted. On being informed that he wanted to see Mr. Jinnah, the watchman brought him to my room. I asked him why he wanted to see Mr. Jinnah and he said he had come from Lahore to discuss with Mr. Jinnah League and other matters. I told him that Mr. Jinnah was busy and that he should fix an appointment to meet him. The visitor took a paper and wrote on it in Urdu that he wanted to see Mr. Jinnah to discuss some important matters and that he would be grateful if he met him. While we were discussing the possibility of getting Mr. Jinnah to agree to see him, immediately Mr. Jinnah chanced to come into the room to take a file. Mr. Jinnah asked me who the visitor was and what he wanted. I told Mr. Jinnah the purpose for which the visitor had come.

Mr. Jinnah then told the visitor that he was busy and that he should arrange an appointment. The visitor was not presumably willing to do this and he picked up a quarrel with Mr. Jinnah in the course of which he drew out a knife and attempted to stab him in the neck. Mr. Jinnah caught his hand and thus prevented the knife striking him in the neck.

The assailant, however, succeeded in inflicting minor injuries on Mr. Jinnah's chin and left hand. The Pathan watchman and myself overpowered the assailant and with great difficulty we snatched away the knife from his hands. The police were immediately summoned and

the assailant was handed over to them.

Mr. Jinnah was bleeding in the face and in his left hand. The wounds are slight and Mr. Jinnah is now resting."

Message to the Muslims of North-West Frontier Province about the by-elections to the Provincial Assembly, July 28, 1943.

"I am perfectly all right ; don't you worry." This personal assurance from Qaid-i-Azam Jinnah was received on telephone by Qazi Mohammad Isa, member of the Working Committee, who was on a visit to Peshawar.

A large crowd waited at the Premier's house for several hours to hear Qaid-i-Azam's personal assurance.

Qaid-i-Azam enquired about the election work and gave a massage to the Musalmans of the Frontier Province stating "Forget what has happened to me, concentrate your energies on winning the election which we are fighting on the basis of Pakistan."

He also advised them not to be excited in the least.

Appeal to Muslims of India for contributions to the fund opened by the Calcutta Muslim Chamber of Commerce to relieve the distress of the people of Bengal due to shortage of food, August 31, 1943.

I am greatly pained to hear of the condition of the people of Bengal and the distress that prevails in that province due to the shortage of food. I have been informed that the Bengal Ministry is doing its best to grapple with the difficult situation that has arisen, but they require the help and the co-operation of individuals and organisations in giving succour to the starving people.

I therefore appeal to the Muslims all over India and especially in Bengal to come to the rescue of the people of Bengal by contributing their mite to the Relief Fund opened by the Calcutta Muslim Chamber of Commerce to which I am sending my personal contribution of Rs. 1,000 addressed to Calcutta Muslim Chamber of Commerce Relief Fund through the President of the Chamber.

I sincerely hope that the Musalmans will not fail to make their contribution for the purpose of removing the hardships and the suffering of the people of Bengal and go to their rescue whole-heartedly.

Interview to the Foreign Press, Bombay, September 24, 1943

" Pakistan is an indispensable condition of any settlement in India," said Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in an interview to the Foreign Press.

It has the support of 99 per cent. of the Muslims of India, as has been proved by recent by-elections. He said :

Pakistan should be brought into operation without delay. What can Lord Wavell do ? There is no ground for delaying this settlement.

As long ago as 1858, Mr. Bright spoke of the folly of trying to weld the various nations and races and creeds of India into one State. This has been fully proved in the past 85 years since his far-sighted pronouncements. We must now form two great Indian States, the Muslim State of the North with a population of 80 millions and the Hindu State of the South with a population of 250 millions.

NO WEAKNESS

Mr. Jinnah did not agree that this division of India would

lead to weakness or would mean that the Muslims of the North would look to the Arabian States of the West while the Hindu State would turn to China and the East. He pointed out that the Muslim State alone—and he was excluding the Indian States from his calculations—would have a population nearly three times that of England or twice that of France and a far larger territory in proportion.

Mr. Jinnah urged that Mr. Gandhi should recognise his mistake and should withdraw his resolution of August 8, which, he contended, is already dead.

This resolution, said Mr. Jinnah, contained a double threat. The first part of it demanded a 'National Government' under very vague terms, which would virtually torpedo Pakistan. This was a threat to the Muslims since they would inevitably be in a minority in the kind of Hindu 'National' Government which Mr. Gandhi had in mind. The second part which dealt with mass civil disobedience and sabotage of the war effort was a threat to the British Government if they refused to concede Congress demands, but it has failed.

ACT BOLDLY

Let Mr. Gandhi act boldly and withdraw his resolution. Then the British Government will no longer have any excuse for keeping Mr. Gandhi and the other Congress leaders in prison. Indians will then be able to get together and thrash out the settlement.

But the idea of a federal, united democratic State in India is wrong. Such a State would place the Muslim minority permanently at the mercy of the Hindu majority.

Some Hindus have admitted that their aim is a Hindu raj over the whole sub-continent. That would mean the substitution of Hindu garrisons for the present British garrisons.

redoubled vigour. There were many parties no doubt, but one could not possibly liquidate the differences amongst them by attempting to take away the lives of the other parties.

He was, however, glad to say that the Muslim League had reached a stage when if one man was taken away, a hundred more would rise in his place. The Muslim League had come to stay, and none could destroy it. Attempts had been made to disrupt the League, but they were futile. "Give up this game," said Mr. Jinnah adding: "You cannot divide the League. You may kill a few leaders if you like, but you cannot kill the League."

Adverting to the activities of the Memon Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Jinnah said that it was impossible to separate politics from economics and the social and educational life of a nation. One was so closely interwoven with the other, that every Muslim, man and woman, should take the keenest interest in politics. He knew of no nation that had built up its economic, social and educational life without political power and authority vested in the hands of the people. It might be that a few merchants amassed millions, but that by itself had no effect or influence on the people as a whole. Few of them did real business and many resorted to speculation.

Emphasising the need to build up heavy industries, Mr. Jinnah said that though there were many rich merchants in the Muslim Chamber of Commerce, he could hardly think of anyone who was running a heavy industry. Great and heavy industries formed the backbone of a nation.

A co-ordinated effort was essential for success, and he was against the establishment of sectarian Chambers of Commerce amongst Muslims. Collective efforts alone could lead to success, and he hoped the All-India Muslim Chamber of Commerce, which was now being organised in the various provinces, would fill the void.

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Speeches

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زندگی میں چھپی
ایڈیشن 1943

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